SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

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THE

BRITISH PLUTARCH,

CONTAINING

THE LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT

STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES,
WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS,
POETS, AND ARTISTS,

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE PRESENT TIME. INCLUDING A COMPENDIOUS VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, DURING THAT PERIOD.

A NEW EDITION,

CORRECTED AND CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

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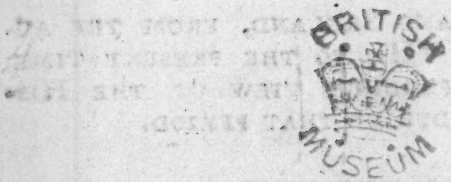
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THE BRITISH PLUTARCH.

THE LIFE OF

OLIVER CROMWELL,

[A. D. 1599, to 1658.]

Including Memoirs of FAIRFAX and LUDLOW.

THE hiſtory of no modern nation furniſhes any example of ſo extraordinary a revolution as that which was ſucceſsfully accompliſhed in England, by the perſonal bravery, political abilities, and general knowledge of mankind, united in the character of the private individual, whoſe life we are now to preſent to our readers. Nor can any apology be made for omiting it in the firſt edition of THE BRITISH PLUTARCH; for however we may condemn Cromwell as a baſe uſurper of the ſupreme power of his country, and as a deſerter of the principles of true patriotiſm, by which he firſt gained credit and eſteem with his fellow-ſubjects, this can be no juſtification for ſuch an omiſſion; ſome of the greateſt heroes of antiquity being involved in the ſame crime of ambition, whoſe glorious military exploits, and wiſe adminiſtration of the governments they illegally obtained, have effaced, in a great degree, their treaſon in obtaining them, and immortaliſed their names.

Plutarch has not omitted a ſingle circumſtance of any moment in the life of Julius Cæſar, and poſterity

ſeems to have forgotten his crimes, in the remembrance of his public and private virtues. With much greater reaſon may we, at this diſtance of time, throw a veil over the uſurpation of Cromwell, ſince its conſequences became glorious by his wiſe adminiſtration, which made his country formidable both by ſea and land, and procured her ſome territorial acquiſitions, and many important commercial advantages, which ſhe enjoys to this very hour. The unprejudiced reader, therefore, will not be diſpleaſed to find an ample life of Oliver Cromwell ſubſtituted in the place of imperfect memoirs of Fairfax and Ludlow, whoſe public tranſactions are ſo blended with the hiſtory of Cromwell, that they cannot, with any propriety, be detached from it, and, for this reaſon, are now included in it.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon in the year 1599, and was deſcended from an ancient family of Welch extraction, originally of the name of Williams; but one of his anceſtors marrying the ſiſter of Thomas Cromwell earl of Eſſex, a ſon by that marriage aſſumed his mother's maiden name, and tranſmitted it to his ſon Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrooke, grandfather to Oliver. Mr. Robert Cromwell, his father, was the ſecond ſon of Sir Henry; and his mother was a daughter of Sir Richard Stewart of the iſle of Ely. It appears, that no extraordinary ſolicitude was ſhewn about his education during his juvenile years; for he continued as a day ſcholar at the free-ſchool of Huntingdon till he was ſeventeen. It is pretended, however, that even in this firſt ſtage of his life, many ſtrange circumſtances occurred which were preſages of his future greatneſs. At about the age of ſeventeen, Cromwell was ſent to Sidney-college in Cambridge, to purſue his ſtudies; but without any determination of choice, that we know of, either on the part of his father or himſelf, of his future deſtination in life; which accounts for his not applying himſelf cloſely either to divinity, law, or phyſic; but, on the contrary

contrary, devoting more of his time to manly, robuſt exerciſes, while he remained at the univerſity, than could poſſibly have been ſpared, if he had applied himſelf to the ſtudy of either of the three learned profeſſions, with a view of fixing upon one of them for his ſupport. An active, rather than a ſedentary life, ſeemed to be his choice, and polite, rather than abſtruſe, learning, his favourite ſtudy; by which means he acquired a competent knowledge of the Greek and Roman hiſtory.

Oliver's father being a younger brother, the ſcanty income of his eſtate was not ſufficient for the decent ſupport of his family, conſiſting of a ſon and four daughters; on which account his mother engaged in ſome branch of the brewing trade, without the participation or aſſiſtance of her huſband, applying the profits to the raiſing portions for her daughters, whom ſhe married into good families. This was the ſituation of the family, when Mr. Cromwell, the father, died, about two years after his ſon had been at the univerſity, and, upon this event, he was called home by his mother; but the irregularity of his conduct giving her great uneaſineſs, ſhe was adviſed to bring him up to the law, and, in conſequence, ſent him to Lincoln's Inn. However, as ſhe continued her buſineſs, this ſhort reſidence at home furniſhed an opportunity to the cavaliers to ſtyle him a brewer, and the ſon of a brewer.

A fortunate incident ſoon took him off from the ſtudy of the law, which by no means ſuited his inclination. Sir Richard Stewart, his maternal uncle, died, who had bequeathed him an eſtate worth five hundred pounds per annum: and, having now ſeen the folly of diſſipation and riot, he very prudently retired into the country, and became as remarkably ſober and religious as he had been vicious and extravagant. For ſome time after he was a devout member of the church of England; but, upon paying his addreſſes to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Eſſex, whom

he afterwards married, he became acquainted with ſome eminent Puritan miniſters and gentlemen, intimate in that family, whoſe religious ſentiments he imbibed, and his lady being of that perſuaſion, he was ſoon prevailed upon to adhere to their party, now growing very powerful; and by their intereſt, he was elected to ſerve in the third parliament of Charles I. which met on the 17th day of March 1628. The king, as uſual, wanted this parliament to proceed upon his ſupplies, before they entered into any conſideration of the many grievances complained of in the adminiſtration of government: but this the patriotic party would not admit, inſiſting, that the ſupply ſhould go hand in hand with the redreſs of grievances; and, upon this plan, they prepared a petition of right to be preſented to the king, before the ſupply, which they voted, ſhould receive the royal aſſent; that if he granted the prayer of the petition, both might paſs into a law at one and the ſame time. The ſubjects of the petition were, "That no loan, or tax, might be levied on the ſubject but by conſent of parliament. That no man might be impriſoned, but by legal proceſs. That ſoldiers might not be quartered on people againſt their wills. That no commiſſions be granted for executing martial law." To which the king anſwered, "I will that right be done, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm." The commons apprehending ſome ſtate-trick, or ſubterfuge, couched in this anſwer, becauſe it was not expreſſed in the uſual terms denoting the royal aſſent, reſolved to adreſs his majeſty for a fuller anſwer; and, both in the debate upon the firſt queſtion for proceeding to a redreſs of grievances before voting the ſupply, and in that for a fuller anſwer to the petition, Oliver Cromwell was a ſpeaker; but did not at this time diſtinguiſh himſelf, as ſome hiſtorians relate, any farther than as a member in the oppoſition.

The king, perceiving that no ſupply could be obtained, though he had threatened to diſſolve the parliament,

ment, without paſſing the petition of right, came to the houſe of peers on the 7th of June, and paſſed it in the uſual form of words. "Soit droit fait comme il eſt deſiré." The commons having carried this great point, readily granted a very ample ſupply, but this by no means ſatisfied the court. A ſcheme was now ſet on foot by the oppoſition to remonſtrate againſt an ancient branch of the royal revenues, tonnage and poundage, a duty on the importation of wine and merchandiſe; and to prevent this violent attack on what the king conſidered as his prerogative, the parliament was prorogued on the 26th of the ſame month to the 20th of October, and then by proclamation to the 21ſt of January 1629. This long receſs only gave an opportunity to the king's enemies to foment animoſities and diſcontents, and to form ſtrong parties throughout the kingdom; ſo that, upon the meeting of parliament, new grievances were added to the old, and as heavy a complaint made of the religious as of the civil ſtate of the nation. His majeſty, however, adhered to the affair of tonnage and poundage, endeavouring to make it the firſt buſineſs of the ſeſſion, by requiring, in his ſpeech from the throne, that it might be ſettled on him for life, as it had been on his anceſtors. The commons, on the contrary, reſolved to proceed upon the ſtate of religion, previous to any other matter, on account of the increaſe of *Arminianiſm*, and the encouragement given to Popery. To this they were inſtigated by that celebrated and active patriot Mr. John Pym, whoſe integrity and public virtue endeared him to his country, and whoſe oppoſition to the arbitrary meaſures of adminiſtration was not founded either on ambition or ſelfiſhneſs, but on a perfect knowledge of, and a zealous attachment to, the conſtitution: with ſuch a character, and the advantages of a powerful elocution, his influence in the houſe was unrivalled, and Oliver Cromwell cloſely trode in his ſteps with reſpect to his political conduct. Mr. Pym moved, that a covenant might

be taken by the houſe, binding the members to maintain their religion and rights. Cromwell ſupported the motion, in a ſpeech complaining, in direct terms, of Neile biſhop of Wincheſter, for countenancing Popery. This bold proceeding, joined to an incident which had happened during the receſs (which was his oppoſing and preventing the execution of a plan, concerted by the king and the earl of Bedford, for draining the fens in Lincolnſhire and the iſle of Ely), attracted the notice of the people, and he began to be talked of as a riſing patriot, of whom great hopes might be conceived. From this time he was diſtinguiſhed in the houſe, by being choſen upon moſt committees reſpecting the ſtate of the nation: the firſt in which he acted was the committee on religion in this parliament; but the officers of the cuſtoms having ſeized the merchandiſe of Mr. Rolles, a merchant of the city of London, and a member of the houſe, and detained it for the duties of tonnage and poundage, he complained of a breach of privilege; and the conſideration of this buſineſs abſorbed all others. For the houſe was thrown into a flame by a meſſage from the king, who avowed that the cuſtom-houſe-officers had only obeyed his commands. This raſh innovation on the part of the crown was immediately voted a breach of privilege; and a proteſtation was drawn up, by the patriotic party, declaring, "That whoever ſhould bring in innovations in religion, or ſeek to introduce Popery or Arminianiſm; and whoever ſhould adviſe the taking of tonnage and poundage, not granted by parliament, or ſhould pay the ſame, ſhould be accounted enemies to the kingdom." The ſpeaker, who was againſt this proceeding, and had refuſed to put the queſtion whether it ſhould be read, was held by force in the chair, and the doors were locked while it was read and voted; after which the houſe adjourned to a certain day, though it was known that the gentleman-uſher of the black-rod was in waiting with a meſſage from the king. The miniſtry now took a meaſure

meaſure, which widened the breach between his majeſty and the houſe of commons; for the members who had been moſt active in drawing up the proteſt, and obliging the ſpeaker to ſtay in the chair while it was read, were illegally taken into cuſtody by warrants from the privy-council; and, refuſing to be reſponſible for what they had ſaid or done in the houſe, they were committed to the Tower. Informations were afterwards exhibited againſt them, for a riot, in the ſtar-chamber-court; but to the juriſdiction of this court they refuſed to ſubmit; and the informations being removed to the King's-bench, they agreed by their council to plead; but the motion was over-ruled. They were adjudged to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure, and Sir John Elliot died in priſon. This ſhould be conſidered as the firſt declaration of war on the part of Charles, and as a direct violation of his coronation-oath; from this time, therefore, ſince he offered no indemnification to his ſubjects, we may account the civil compact as diſſolved; and (though the ſword was not drawn till ſome years after), that neither due protection on the part of the king, nor true allegiance on the part of the ſubjects, any longer ſubſiſted. But it muſt be obſerved, that neither Pym nor Cromwell were among the impriſoned members.

The king now took the fatal reſolution to govern without parliaments, the ſoul of the conſtitution; and having contrived various ways to levy money as well for the ſupport of his houſehold as for the adminiſtration of his civil government, all equally illegal and oppreſſive; ſuch as monopolies of ſalt, ſoap, leather, coals, pins, &c. and by aſſeſſments for ſhip-money, the payment of which was exacted under the penalty, in caſe of refuſal, of fine and impriſonment; many gentleman of landed property reſolved to ſell their eſtates, and others to diſpoſe of their perſonal effects, and leave the kingdom. They were farther induced to meditate this voluntary exile, by the ſevere proceedings of the courts of ſtar-chamber,

chamber, and the eccleſiaſtical high-commiſſion-court, the ſentences of which were ſo infamous, and the fines ſo heavy, that men were liable to the moſt diſgraceful puniſhments, and to ruin in their fortunes, for non-conformity to the rites, ceremonies, and doctrines of the church of England. To prevent this emigration, as if Charles had determined that his ſubjects ſhould have no reſource left, a proclamation was iſſued in the year 1637, laying an embargo on all ſhips outward-bound, having paſſengers on board, till the paſſengers ſhould obtain a licence for leaving the kingdom, from ſuch of the lords of the privy-council as were appointed for the buſineſs of foreign plantations; and amongſt other perſons of note found on board theſe ſhips, were the famous John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, his relation. The intention of the Puritan noblemen and gentlemen who planned the propoſed emigration was, to ſettle in New England, their to enjoy, in a private, retired manner, their religious opinions, and their perſonal freedom, without any deſign of diſturbing government at home; which they thought would be reformed in time, either by experience of the inconveniences of its preſent exceſſes, by the natural death of the king, or by ſome other unforeſeen revolution: but it is evident they had no intention of taking any active part in, much leſs of concerting ſuch a revolution. Of this party was Oliver Cromwell, who, from the ſmallneſs of his fortune, and his middle rank in life, could have no other proſpect in the wilds of America than that of peaceable retirement. Yet this man, whom we find thus embarked, ſome writers of his life have aſſerted, was born to empire, and conceived hopes of a crown from the time that he acted the character of TACTUS, at Huntingdon ſchool, in a play intitled LINGUA, in which the hero is ſuppoſed to have ſtumbled accidentally againſt a crown and robe. The emphatical lines are,

Was ever man ſo fortunate as I,
To break his ſhins at ſuch a ſtumbling block?

It

It redounds more to the honour of Oliver Cromwell, and it will be found nearer to the truth, by the ſequel, to ſuppoſe that he acted upon true patriotic principles for many years after the period when he was prevented leaving the kingdom. The aſcendency of ambition over theſe principles was perhaps as ſudden and adventitious as the unforeſeen incidents which gave birth to it; and if this be made apparent from the annals of his life, it will place his character in a new and in a more impartial light, than if he is conſidered as the long-concealed premeditator of uſurpation.

Oliver, out of parliament, ſeems to have acted with great prudence and caution; and, though the nation was in a general ferment, and we may readily conceive that he looked upon this embargo as a freſh infringement of perſonal liberty, he paſſed his time quietly in the iſle of Ely, and devoted himſelf to religious, rather than to political ſtudies, frequenting the meetings of the nonconformiſts, and diſtinguiſhing himſelf only by his gifts, as they were then called, of praying, preaching, and expounding. But when the miſguided monarch, having exhauſted every expedient for levying money on his ſubjects without the conſent of parliament, ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of calling one, Cromwell ingratiated himſelf with a leading man in the corporation of Cambridge, and was choſen to repreſent that city, in the parliament which was ſummoned to meet on the 21ſt of April 1640. The king now offered to give up his claim to ſhip-money, and to redreſs the grievances of the nation, provided the commons would grant him a ſupply to carry on a war he had commenced againſt Scotland; and this condeſcenſion being highly acceptable, an accommodation was likely to enſue; when, by a ſtrange miſtake of Sir Henry Vane, in delivering a meſſage from his majeſty, he demanded twelve, inſtead of ſix ſubſidies; and this error, which ſome charge him with committing deſignedly, threw the houſe into an ill humour; and, before the confuſion ſubſided, he went

went to the king, and told him no money would be granted againſt the Scots; whereupon Charles abruptly diſſolved the parliament, and contented himſelf with the ſubſidies granted to him by the convocation of the clergy, and the voluntary contributions of ſome of the nobility and gentry, with which he raiſed an army of 20,000 men. But a detachment being defeated by the Scots at Newcaſtle, and the king's magazines of arms and ammunition falling into the enemy's hands, a council of peers, whom he ſummoned to meet him at York, adviſed him to enter into a treaty, and ſoon after a ceſſation of arms took place. The unſettled ſtate of the kingdom occaſioned petitions from the city of London, and other corporations, for a new parliament; to which the king conſented; and the memorable long parliament met on the 3d of November, when Oliver Cromwell was again choſen for Cambridge. His attendance in parliament now became very cloſe, his ſpeeches frequent, and his warmth and activity in oppoſition to the meaſures of the court, remarkably conſpicuous. Nor was he leſs zealous in promoting petitions againſt the biſhops, for their ſevere proſecutions, and inhuman puniſhments, in the eccleſiaſtical courts. He had likewiſe a principal ſhare in the remonſtrance of the ſtate of the nation, in which the enormities of the king's government were ſtrongly pointed out. This remonſtrance was carried, after very warm debates, and ordered to be printed on the 15th of December 1641: upon this occaſion, he again renewed his deſign of leaving England for ever, if it had not paſſed.

At length, when the diſſentions between the king and the parliament came to an open rupture, and the civil war broke out, Cromwell exhibited a new character; for having obtained a captain's commiſſion from the commons, he immediately raiſed a troop of horſe in the country; and, both in the choice of his men, and his manner of diſciplining them, diſplayed the ſtrongeſt evidences of uncommon military genius. His men

were

were remarkable for their ſobriety, induſtry, and bravery; they were moſt of them the ſons of freeholders, who were taught to believe they were fighting for the defence of their own property; and being religiouſly diſpoſed, they acted upon principles of conſcience. Such ſoldiers could not fail of ſubduing common mercenaries, who fight only for pay, and therefore, whenever they engaged them, they were victorious.

Cromwell's firſt military exploit of any conſequence, was his ſecuring the town of Cambridge for the parliament, and ſtopping the univerſity plate, ready packed up to be ſent to the king. Not long after, he ſeized Sir Thomas Conneſby, high-ſheriff of Hertfordſhire, on the road to St. Alban's, where he was going to proclaim the parliament-officers traitors. For theſe ſervices he received the thanks of the houſe, and was promoted to the rank of a colonel. Inveſted with this honour, he enlarged his plan of operations, and, by the ſtrength of his increaſing intereſt, ſoon raiſed a regiment of 1000 horſe, with which he prevented the exertions of recruiting parties of the royaliſts in ſeveral counties; and, by his activity and ſucceſs, recommended himſelf to farther promotion. He was next appointed lieutenant-general under the earl of Mancheſter; and, in different ſkirmiſhes, he gave freſh proofs of his valour and ſkilful conduct, always coming off victorious; but his military reputation was eſtabliſhed in ſuch a manner, that he was dreaded by the royaliſts, after he had ſo eminently ſignalized himſelf at the battle of Marſton-moor, by recovering the day againſt prince Rupert, after it had been loſt by Mancheſter, Fairfax, and Leven. He now became the general ſubject of converſation, and the eyes of all men were fixed upon him; but as he was greatly envied by his brother officers, it was not yet his time to aim at the generalſhip. The earls of Eſſex and Mancheſter were his moſt powerful adverſaries, and the latter vowed his deſtruction for having accuſed him of cowardice; yet ſuch was the general good opinion

nion conceived of Cromwell by the parliament, and by the people without doors, that he ſoon perceived his own ſtrength, and turned the tables upon his opponents, by complaining in the houſe of the miſconduct of the war, which he imputed to the venality of the then commanders, who, for their own intereſt, wanted to protract it. In conſequence of a very bold ſpeech upon this occaſion, it was reſolved to new-model the army, and to paſs an ordinance called, "The Self-denying Ordinance," by which all members of parliament were excluded from civil or military employments; and the earls of Eſſex and Mancheſter, with ſeveral other general officers, were thereby diſmiſſed.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was now appointed commander in chief of all the parliament's forces; and, by a ſtrange evaſion of their own law, Oliver Cromwell's ſervice in the houſe was diſpenſed with, that he might act under Fairfax, to whom he was ſtrongly recommended, and ſoon after he was appointed lieutenant-general of the horſe. Cromwell did not remain a ſingle day inactive, but, in his way to the main army, defeated the earl of Northampton and lord Goring, made himſelf maſter of Bletchington-houſe, and then joined general Fairfax at Gilſborough. It is obſerved by all the hiſtorians of the civil war, that though Fairfax had the chief command in title and appearance, Cromwell had ſuch an aſcendency over him, that he was, in fact, the acting commander. Fairfax had great perſonal valour, and was indefatigably diligent, but he wanted genius and foreſight; he could execute without thought, but he could not form regular plans of operation; nothing therefore could be more fortunate for the parliament than the ſtrict union and friendſhip which ſubſiſted between theſe great men; and ſo ſenſible were the royaliſts of their combined abilities, that they made ſeveral attempts to create a miſunderſtanding, and to divide them, but in vain.

Cromwell had not long joined the main army before the

the deciſive battle of Naſeby was fought, on the 14th of June 1645, the ſucceſs of which, like that of Marſton-moor, was chiefly owing to the troops under his command; for the king's infantry had routed thoſe of the parliament under Fairfax, and had taken their ordnance, when Cromwell, who had routed the left wing of the royal army, flew to their aſſiſtance, and recovered the victory. This was the principal change in the event of this battle, the detail of which, at this diſtance of time, would be equally tedious and uninſtructive. But we muſt not omit, that Cromwell, in his account given in to parliament of this and all other ſucceſſes, which were avowedly owing to his own intrepidity and ſkilful conduct, always gave the honour of the day to Fairfax; which generous behaviour ſtill farther endeared him to the general and to the whole army.

Cromwell's next memorable expedition was againſt the club-men, a kind of freebooters, who had formed an army independent of both parties; who, under colour of a ſhameful example ſet them by the royaliſts in the Weſt of England, thought themſelves at liberty to ſubſiſt by rapine and plunder. They rendered themſelves ſo formidable, that both parties had endeavoured to gain them over, till Cromwell appeared againſt them, by whom the inſurrection was totally quelled.

After this ſervice, he joined Fairfax before Briſtol, and adviſed him to attempt it by ſtorm. Accordingly a general aſſault was made, in ſo furious a manner, that prince Rupert (dreading a ſecond) ſurrendered, for which he was diſmiſſed the king's ſervice, and ordered to leave the kingdom. This important place being made the head-quarters of the general, Cromwell, with a detachment of four regiments, made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong caſtle at the Devizes, of the city of Wincheſter, and of ſeveral other places of inferior note, taking priſoners the marquis of Wincheſter and other perſons of diſtinction in the king's army, whom he ſent to the

parliament. He then rejoined Fairfax, and aſſiſted him in taking Dartmouth by ſtorm; after which he defeated lord Hopetoun at Torrington, and then went in purſuit of the prince of Wales, who was at the head of about 5000 horſe and 1000 foot in Cornwall; but the prince, unable to give him battle, fled to the iſle of Scilly. Exeter ſurrendered ſoon after; and the weſt of England being thus intirely ſubjected to the parliament, Cromwell went to London in the month of December 1646, took his ſeat in parliament, and received the thanks of the houſe for his many and ſignal ſervices to his country. At the ſame time the king, then at Oxford, ſent no leſs than ten letters and meſſages, offering to come and reſide with the parliament, and to diſband his forces, provided his followers, might be at liberty to return home, and remain unqueſtioned. But no direct anſwer was given till the 30th of March following, when a meſſage was ſent to his majeſty, that it would be unſafe for him to return to Weſtminſter, till he had conſented to the propoſitions they were then framing; and, in order to prevent his coming without their conſent, the houſe voted, "That, if the king ſhould come, or attempt to come, within the lines of communication, then the committee of the militia of London ſhould have power, and were thereby enjoined, to apprehend and ſecure ſuch as ſhould come with him, to prevent reſort unto him, and to ſecure his perſon." The moderate members oppoſed this meſſage and vote, particularly Denzil lord Holles, and Sir Philip Stapleton; but the celebrated patriots, Pym and Hampden, the leaders of this party, both dying in 1643, the intereſt of the Preſbyterians had inſenſibly declined, and that of the Independents, of which faction Cromwell had made himſelf chief, had acquired conſiderable ſtrength by the ſelf-denying ordinance; and now it evidently appeared, that Cromwell had been for ſometime exerting his political abilities with the ſame ſucceſs as his military talents, in ſubduing one party in the houſe,

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and in making the intereſts of the other ſubſervient to his own ambitious deſigns. All men ſaw that he aimed at the generalſhip, but none yet fathomed the deeper deſign of getting the king into his power; though both theſe points he had in view when he promoted this ſevere meſſage and vote. By his correſpondence with Fairfax, he knew that the royal cauſe was almoſt ruined, and he was unwilling that the king ſhould enter into a perſonal treaty with a parliament in which he had ſtill many friends who oppoſed his mal-adminiſtration, but had no evil deſigns againſt his perſon. Indeed this character is given of all the Preſbyterians; and yet it is ſaid, they had a majority in the houſe at the time of paſſing the above vote: theſe are contradictions by no means to be reconciled at this diſtant period.

During theſe tranſactions at London, general Fairfax was marching with a powerful army to lay ſiege to Oxford, which was unable to hold out againſt him; and in this unhappy ſituation of affairs, the king unfortunately liſtened to the advice of Montreuil the French ambaſſador, and privately repaired to the Scotch army, which then lay before Newark. This unexpected meaſure greatly afflicted his remaining friends in England, and threw the parliament into the utmoſt conſternation: and now the diſſenſions between the Preſbyterians and the Independents increaſed, the former being jealous of the growing power of Cromwell, who ingratiated himſelf with the latter, and took every meaſure to circumvent the deſigns of the former againſt him. The king by the advice of the Scots, who were ſecretly in the intereſt of the Engliſh Independent faction, gave orders to all his garriſons to ſurrender. Oxford took the lead, and the civil war being thus in a great meaſure terminated, general Fairfax entered London in triumph, and received the thanks of the parliament. This buſineſs was no ſooner over, but a ſcheme was concerted by the Preſbyterian party to diſband part of

the army, particularly ſome of the independent regiments, and to ſend others over to Ireland. But Cromwell, with his uſual addreſs, having obtained timely notice of their deſign, ſent colonel Ireton his ſon-in-law to inſinuate to the whole army, that the parliament intended to diſband them without paying them their arrears, or elſe to conſume them in Ireland with ſickneſs and famine. This ſo exaſperated the ſoldiers, that when the orders arrived for diſbanding ſome and tranſporting others, they refuſed to obey them; and, calling in queſtion the authority of parliament, they ſet up a claim to a ſhare in the government, made choice of a number of officers to be a ſtanding council to their general, and ſelected three or four corporals or ſerjeants out of each regiment as repreſentatives of the private ſoldiers, under the title of agitators. The council and the agitators met ſeparately; but, communicating their reſolves to each other, they were in the end unanimous in declaring, "That they would not be diſbanded till their full arrears were paid, and till full proviſion was made for liberty of conſcience, which had been hitherto little ſecured." They added, "That as they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were a part, before they laid down thoſe arms, they would ſee all thoſe ends provided for." This declaration was delivered at the bar of the houſe, by a committee of the army council. And it is generally allowed, that this timely, political manœuvre, not only ſaved Cromwell from an intended impeachment by Denzil lord Holles, but laid the foundation of his future power.

Cromwell had ſuch an influence over general Fairfax, that, though he was a Preſbyterian, he engaged him to write a letter to the parliament in ſupport of a petition from the army; and this had ſuch an effect on the houſe of commons, that deputies were appointed to treat with a committee of officers, and in the end the army carried their point. The political addreſs, or, in other words,

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the duplicity of Cromwell during theſe tranſactions, could not eſcape the notice of the moderate and ſenſible men of all parties: for while he ſecretly fomented diſcontent, and encouraged mutiny in the camp, he openly and bitterly inveighed againſt the turbulence and licentiouſneſs of the army in parliament, and went ſo far as to adviſe violent meaſures to ſuppreſs the increaſing commotion. Yet as it was well known that the chief mutineers were to a man perſonally devoted to him; and the army, by the condeſcenſion of the houſe of commons, had now rendered themſelves very formidable; thoſe, who meditated bringing Cromwell to condign puniſhment as a traitor to the parliament, were adviſed by their friends to conſult their own ſafety, in laying aſide ſo dangerous a deſign; and the opportunity once loſt was never to be recovered; for Cromwell, having intelligence of the private meetings of his enemies, reſolved to purge the houſe of all members obnoxious to him; and a very important event ſoon furniſhed him with the means of carrying this ſcheme into execution.

In the beginning of the year 1647, the Scots, in conſideration of the ſum of 400,000l. pretended to be due to their army for arrears, and to the ſtate for other ſervices, delivered up the king to the commiſſioners from the Engliſh parliament, who were ſent to receive him upon the concluſion of this diſgraceful contract; which was contrary to their oath of allegiance, and a direct violation of the law of nations, which makes the perſon of an ambaſſador ſacred, much more that of a ſovereign invited to come into their kingdom as a ſafe aſylum, till the unhappy diſputes between him and his ſubjects ſhould be amicably adjuſted. Cromwell (it has been ſuppoſed) now reſolved to hazard one bold ſtroke to ſecure his fortune beyond the probability of a reverſal. He plainly perceived a growing inclination in the parliament to treat with the king, and therefore he was determined to circumvent them, by engaging the army

to preſent a dutiful addreſs to his majeſty, and by entering into a perſonal treaty with him, to replace him on the throne, by the aſſiſtance of the army, independent of the parliament, and to make him the moſt powerful prince in Europe. Unhappily the king confided in the party he thought the moſt formidable, and as if this was not ſufficient, it is ſaid, he ſealed his own ruin, by his inſincerity in his negociation with Cromwell. However, to facilitate this negociation, and to defeat the views of the parliament, Cromwell ſent colonel Joyce, with a detachment from the army, to ſeize the perſon of the king at *Holdenby*, commonly called *Holmby-houſe*, in Northamptonſhire; and though the formality of taking him priſoner wears the appearance of terror and violence, yet there is great reaſon to ſuſpect, from the good underſtanding that had ſubſiſted between the king and the army, and the great reſpect with which he had been treated by them, that his majeſty ſecretly connived at this plot, to deliver him from the power of the parliament, who had already given him great diſguſt, by appointing Marſhal and Caryll, two Preſbyterian miniſters, to be his domeſtic chaplains.

Cromwell, who had hitherto kept fair with the parliament, now threw off the maſk, ſet the houſe of commons at defiance, and boaſted among his friends "That by having the king in his hands, he had the parliament in his pocket." His majeſty was removed to his palace at Newmarket, where he continued to be treated with all due honour and reſpect by the army; free acceſs was granted to his perſon; his own chaplains and ſervants were reſtored to him; he followed his recreations as he thought proper, and Cromwell made warm profeſſions of attachment to him.

The parliament now perceived that their power and influence were on the decline, and that the army would very ſoon be their maſters, and they began too late to ſhew a reſolute and active conduct, which if it had been

been exerted in time, in all human probability, would have ſtifled the ambition of Cromwell in the birth. The city of London was put in a poſture of defence, and it was voted that the army ſhould remove forty miles from London. It was likewiſe reſolved to ſend dutiful addreſſes to the king, and forthwith to ſend him propoſitions for a reconciliation: but the army, inſtead of obeying the vote reſpecting their removal, delivered a repreſentation to the houſe of commons, deſiring that it might be purged of ſeditious members, and that a period might be fixed for the diſſolution of the parliament, complaining that it had ſat too long, contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution. This repreſentation producing no effect, they impeached Denzil lord Holles, Sir Ed. William Waller, and nine other members, who had always oppoſed their demands and proceedings: and then, to convince the parliament of the little intereſt they had in the city of London, they excited an inſurrection of the citizens, who tumultuouſly reſorted to Weſtminſter, and demanded that the king ſhould be brought to London, and that they ſhould put an end to their ſitting. This commotion ſtruck the Preſbyterian party with ſuch a panic, that both houſes adjourned in great confuſion; and the ſpeakers, Lenthal and the earl of Mancheſter, with about fifty members, fled to the army for protection againſt the London mob, and the eleven impeached members left the kingdom. Cromwell, who had raiſed this ſtorm, ſecretly enjoyed it; and the king being now at Hampton-court, he openly reſorted to him, and ſo fully convinced him of his power over the army, and of his attachment to him, that when Fairfax tendered his ſervices, his majeſty indiſcreetly replied, "Sir, I have as good intereſt in the army as you;" which the general took very ill, and from that time gave himſelf no concern about the apparent deſigns of the king's enemies.

The parliament in their treaty with the king among other articles had ſtipulated, that Cromwell ſhould be raiſed to the peerage, only with the title of baron; but the

the king, in his private negociation with Cromwell and the army, had promiſed to create him earl of Eſſex, to make him a knight of the garter, and to advance his ſon Richard and his ſon-in-law Ireton to poſts of great honour and emolument. But when this compact was on the point of taking place, one of their ſpies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, informed them, that their final doom was that day fixed, for that a letter was gone to the queen, then in France, ſewed up in the ſkirt of a ſaddle, the bearer of which would be with the ſaddle upon his head, at the Blue Boar-inn in Holborn the following night, to take horſe for Dover. Upon this intelligence, they dreſſed themſelves in troopers uniforms, and repaired to the inn, where they ſeized on the man, ſearched the ſaddle, and took out the letter, by which they found, that the king gave it as his opinion, that he ſhould cloſe ſooner with the Scotch Preſbyterians, who in conjunction with the parliament had courted him, than with the army; in which caſe it would be eaſier to take off Cromwell, than now that he was at the head of the army. From the period of this diſcovery, Cromwell's ambition took a larger ſcope, and, aided by perſonal reſentment, he now reſolved to attempt the king's deſtruction, and his own advancement to ſupreme power.

In the mean time, the remains of the parliament, recovered from their firſt conſternation at the proceedings of the mob, and the defection of their ſpeakers, met at Weſtminſter, and choſe new ſpeakers, lord Hunſdon for the upper, and Henry Pelham for the lower houſe. They then reſolved to levy troops to oppoſe the army; the trained-bands were ordered to guard the lines, and nothing was to be heard in all quarters of the town but the ſound of military preparations. But upon the approach of the army, a general diſlike to the parliamentary ſervice appeared, and the firſt detachment preſenting itſelf before Southwark, they were readily admitted by thoſe who were placed there for its

its defence. The whole army ſoon followed, and paſſed through the city to Weſtminſter on the 6th of Auguſt, where they replaced Lenthall and the earl of Mancheſter in their reſpective chairs; and now the parliament was new-modelled (as the army had been ſome years before), by Cromwell and the Independents.

The king, informed of the diſcovery made by Cromwell, and of the triumphant entry of the army into London, ſuſpected that his life was in danger, and privately withdrew from Hampton-court to Tichfield, a ſeat of the earl of Southampton's, from whence he was unfortunately perſuaded to go to the Iſle of Wight, and put himſelf under the protection of Hammond the governor, nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, on which account he was judged a proper perſon for his majeſty to confide in. But it was ſtrangely forgotten, that governor Hammond had married a daughter of the famous John Hampden, whoſe oppoſition to the king had been one ſource of his majeſty's misfortunes: and by this overſight, inſtead of an aſylum, the unfortunate monarch found a priſon; for Hammond was devoted to Cromwell, and immediately ſent advice to him of the king's arrival, who thereupon ſummoned a council of general officers to meet him at Windſor, where it was debated, what ſhould now be done with the king; and it was reſolved, that he ſhould be proſecuted for his life as a traitor to his country. The firſt ſtep Oliver's party took with this view in parliament was, to procure an order to Hammond to confine the king in Cariſbrook-caſtle, and not to ſuffer any of his friends or adherents to remain on the iſland.

They alſo framed four propoſitions, which they ſent to the king, and to which they required his aſſent. By the firſt, he was required to inveſt the parliament with full power over the militia for twenty years, together with authority to levy whatever money ſhould be neceſſary

ceſſary for exerciſing it; and they alſo reſerved a right of re-aſſuming the ſame authority, whenever they ſhould declare the ſafety of the kingdom to require it. By the ſecond, he was required to recal all his declarations and proclamations againſt the parliament, and to acknowledge them to have taken arms for their juſt and neceſſary defence. By the third, he was to annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had paſſed the great ſeal, ſince it had been carried from London by the lord-keeper Littleton; and by the fourth, he was to give the two houſes power to adjourn when they thought fit. But to theſe propoſitions Charles would not conſent; and he alſo refuſed to give up epiſcopacy, or to agree to an alienation of church lands.

Cromwell and Ireton made themſelves conſpicuous in this buſineſs, and were remarkably bold in the debate upon the king's refuſal of the propoſitions. Cromwell in particular ſaid, "That the king was a man of great underſtanding, but withal ſo great a diſſembler, and ſo falſe a man, that he was not to be truſted;" and it is aſſerted, that he threatened not only the king, but the parliament, if they gave the army any farther cauſe of jealouſy, and even put his hand to his ſword at the cloſe of his ſpeech: the object of which was to enforce the following vote, "That no more addreſſes or applications ſhould be made to the king, nor any meſſage received from him, under the penalty of high-treaſon.

A ſecond civil war broke out in the year 1648. The diſcontented part of the nation, who diſapproved of the meaſures taken againſt the king, roſe in different parts of England; and the Welch appeared with a formidable body in behalf of the king, acting by commiſſion from the prince of Wales. The example once ſet, aſſociations in ſupport of the royal cauſe were formed in almoſt every county, which put the parliament upon vigorous meaſures, and Cromwell was ſent into Wales, where he ſubdued the Welch forces, and took their commanders

commanders priſoners; and the town of Colcheſter, where the ſtrongeſt body of the royaliſts was ſhut up, being obliged to ſurrender, this ſtruck ſuch a damp on the minds of the reſt, that moſt of the inſurrections were ſoon quelled, and the aſſociations diſſolved.

The Scots, however, threatened to give the parliament more trouble; for they aſſerted, that the latter had violated the condition on which they delivered up the king, and they endeavoured to retrieve their national honour, by ſending duke Hamilton into England, at the head of a powerful army to reinſtate the king; but their efforts were now too late, and, proving ineffectual, only ſerved to haſten his fate, from an apprehenſion that every day would produce freſh diſturbances in his favour. Cromwell, by his genius and valour, put a ſtop to this incurſion, and to the oppreſſions which the inhabitants of the north of England laboured under from the brutality and rapine of the Scotch army; having totally routed all their forces, and taken duke Hamilton priſoner. He alſo reduced Carliſle and Berwick, which had revolted from the Engliſh, and then entering Scotland in triumph, he cauſed a proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment in his army, prohibiting, upon pain of death, the ſeizure of any goods or chattels belonging to the Scots. At the ſame time he declared to the people of Scotland, that he came there with an army only to ſet their kingdom free from the faction of the Hamiltons, and without any intention to invade their liberties, or infringe their privileges. Agreeably to this declaration, he marched to Edinburgh, where he was received with great ſolemnity by the marquis of Argyll and the magiſtracy; and having diſmiſſed the Hamilton party from all offices of public truſt, he returned to England with every mark of honour and eſteem on the part of the Scots; and, upon his arrival at London, he took his ſeat again in parliament; and received the thanks of the houſe for this

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ſignal ſervice, which was the laſt he performed in his military capacity till after the king's death.

In all the proceedings relative to the execution of Charles I. Cromwell was not only the principal adviſer, but the boldeſt agent, and when others heſitated, or ſuggeſted doubts about the equity of the intended trial, he oppoſed them with menaces and arguments alternately, ſuiting his expedients to the parties with whom he had to contend; and it ſtands on record, that he was the only man who undertook to over-rule the Scotch commiſſioners who came to England with a proteſt againſt putting the king to death.

The formalities and circumſtances of this memorable trial are familiar to every one the leaſt converſant in the hiſtory of their country; and thoſe who are not, are referred, for an ample account of the whole, to Rapin and Carte's Hiſtories of England.

The king being put to death, that inconſiderable part of the houſe of commons, which continued ſitting, aſſumed the reins of government under the denomination of a commonwealth; and ſure of the ſupport of the army, they voted the kingly office to be unneceſſary and burthenſome, and the houſe of peers dangerous and uſeleſs, and therefore to be laid aſide. But the peers were declared capable of being elected into the houſe of commons; which degradation was ſubmitted to only by the three following noblemen, the earls of Pembroke and Saliſbury, and lord Howard of Eſcrick: the reſt entered upon their journals, and publiſhed a proteſtation, in the name of all the peers of the realm, againſt all acts, votes, and orders of parliament, that ſhould be made during their excluſion. The parliament likewiſe iſſued a proclamation, and afterwards paſſed an act, declaring it high-treaſon to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other perſon, king of England; and ſuch members as had given their vote for accepting the conceſſions of the late king for a peace were excluded

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the houſe. This vote reduced the remainder under one hundred; and theſe being conſidered by the cavaliers (ſo the friends of Charles II. were denominated) as the dregs of the long parliament, they called them in deriſion, "*The Rump.*"

The next act of the new government was to nominate a council of ſtate, conſiſting of forty perſons; Cromwell being one, in whom they veſted the executive authority; and from this time all writs, formerly running in the king's name, were iſſued out in the names of "The Keepers of the Liberty of England;" the old great ſeal was broken, and a new one made, having on one ſide a red croſs and a harp, quartered as the arms of England and Ireland, with this inſcription, "*The great ſeal of England;*" and, on the reverſe, a repreſentation of the houſe of commons aſſembled, with this legend, "*In the firſt year of Freedom, by God's grace reſtored, 1649.*" Inſtead of a head, the ſame arms were impreſſed on the coin, with this device, "GOD WITH US." A new oath was likewiſe adminiſtered to all perſons in office, to be true and faithful to the government eſtabliſhed, without king or houſe of peers.

But as the exiſtence of this new government depended upon the principal officers of the army, and on Cromwell more than all the reſt, it was declared to be high-treaſon for any ſoldier of the army to contrive the death of the general or lieutenant-general; and Oliver Cromwell, being now provided with a ſecurity to his perſon, aboliſhed the council of agitators, and cauſed two ſoldiers of his own regiment of infantry to be ſhot by two of their comrades, in ſight of the whole army, for mutiny upon this occaſion.

The army now implicitly obeyed the orders of this enterpriſing man, and no perſon was thought ſo proper to reduce the kingdom of Ireland to ſubmiſſion to the new commonwealth, as the expedition was both difficult and dangerous, requiring great perſonal bravery and addreſs. Accordingly he was appointed lord Go-

vernor of that kingdom, in all affairs both civil and military, for three years; and all his forces being in readineſs for embarkation at Milford-haven, he ſet out from London on the 10th of July, with great ſolemnity and ſplendor, in a coach with ſix horſes, attended by ſeveral members of parliament and of the council of ſtate, the officers of his houſehold, and a life guard, conſiſting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, all well-mounted and accoutred, both them and their ſervants.

The marquis of Ormond was at the head of the royaliſts, and had ſo bravely ſupported the cauſe of the late king, that Londonderry and Dublin were the only places of any conſequence that held out for the parliament, and theſe were in danger of being loſt: but before the arrival of Cromwell, colonel Jones, who commanded for the parliament, had obliged the marquis to raiſe the ſiege of Dublin. In this city, Cromwell was received with every demonſtration of joy; and now the republican forces being ſufficiently powerful, began to act upon the offenſive, whereas before, it was as much as they could do to ſtand their ground. Moſt of the fortified towns being in the hands of the enemy, and well-garriſoned, Cromwell, with his uſual intrepidity, reſolved upon a military exploit which ſhould aſtoniſh the Iriſh, and occaſion ſuch a general dread of his arms, that, after having given one example of his ſuperiority and ſeverity, he might have little or no trouble in completing his conqueſts. With this view, he marched to Drogheda, or Tredagh, a very ſtrong place, garriſoned by the flower of the royal army, under the command of Sir Arthur Aſton, an old experienced officer. Having blocked up the town by land, and ordered admiral Ayſcough, with his fleet, to cut off all communication by ſea, he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, and upon refuſal hung out the red, or bloody enſign, denoting that no quarter was to be expected; and after a warm oppoſition he took the place by

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ſtorm, entering the town in perſon by the breaches which he had made in the walls, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued, all who bore arms being put to the ſword, for which inhumanity he was ſeverely cenſured; but he juſtified himſelf, by alleging, that they had imbrued their hands in the blood of innocent Engliſhmen, at the maſſacre of the Proteſtants in 1641, and that it was the only way to prevent the farther effuſion of blood, as other places would be diſcouraged from ſuſtaining a ſiege. But he was obliged to act the ſame tragedy again at Wexford; after which, the dread of the ſame fate affected all the towns and forts along the coaſt as far as Dublin, and they quietly ſurrendered one after the other. In ſhort, in about nine months, this victorious general, ſeconded by his ſon-in-law Ireton, obliged the whole kingdom to ſubmit to the new government; and then he was recalled.

Cromwell's return to England was haſtened by the conduct of the Scots, who had ſent commiſſioners to the Hague to treat with Charles II. and having at length prevailed with him to comply with all their demands, they had ſigned a treaty, and acknowledged him for their ſovereign, in conſequence of which he had been proclaimed in Scotland; and this being conſidered by the commonwealth of England as a declaration of war againſt their government, preparations for the commencement of hoſtilities were now carried on in both kingdoms with great vigour; but when it was propoſed by the council of ſtate in England to be beforehand with the Scots, by carrying the war into their country, general (then lord) Fairfax declined taking upon him the command of the expedition, and he had no ſooner thrown out hints of his diſlike to the ſervice, but Cromwell was ordered home. On his approach to London, he was met by a prodigious concourſe of people; and being come to Tyburn, where a great crowd of ſpectators were aſſembled to ſee him enter, a certain flatterer, pointing to the multitude, ex-

claimed, "Good God, Sir! what a number of people are come hither to welcome you home!" to which he replied, with a ſmile, "But how many more do you think would flock to the ſame place to ſee me hanged?" His entry into London was, in a manner, triumphal, for he was attended by lord Fairfax, who went two miles out of town to meet him, and by the principal citizens, and members of parliament; he was eſcorted by a troop of horſe and a regiment of foot; and at Hyde-Park he was ſaluted with cannon, and was lodged in the palace at Whitehall. On the firſt of June 1650, the day after his arrival, there were public rejoicings; and when he reſumed his ſeat in parliament, the ſpeaker, in an elegant ſpeech, returned him the thanks of the houſe, for his great and faithful ſervices in Ireland.

On the 16th of the ſame month, Charles II. arrived in Scotland, and it being found impracticable to prevail on general Fairfax to commence hoſtilities, who declared, that his conſcience was not ſatisfied as to the juſtice of the intended war, his offer to lay down his commiſſion was readily accepted. And the parliament ſoon paſſed an act unanimouſly, conſtituting and appointing Oliver Cromwell, eſq. to be captain-general in chief of all the forces raiſed, and to be raiſed, by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of England.

From this time lord Fairfax appeared no more in his military capacity, but retired to his ſeat in Yorkſhire, where the leiſure of a private life affording him an opportunity for deliberate reflection, he diſcovered, too late, that he had been made the tool of Cromwell's ambition, and now he took every opportunity to promote the Reſtoration; in conſequence of which, he put himſelf at the head of a body of Yorkſhire gentlemen, and, joining general Monk, facilitated his march into England. In 1660, he was elected one of the members for the county of York, in what was called the Healing Parliament, and he was one of the committee appointed

pointed to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, to desire him to make a speedy return to his parliament, and to the exercise of the regal authority. After the dissolution of that parliament, he returned again to his seat in the country, where he lived in the most private manner till his death, which happened in November, 1671, in the 60th year of his age.

The new general was as successful in Scotland as he had been in Ireland. It even seemed as if the very name of Oliver Cromwell struck a panic wherever he appeared; for the Scots fled before him as he approached, and when at length their army was by stratagem drawn into a general engagement at Dunbar, he totally defeated them, though their numbers more than doubled the English. His signal successes in Scotland determined Charles II. to march with another army into England, to which he was more contiguous, after the battle of Dunbar, than Cromwell. Accordingly he entered by Carlisle, and meeting with little or no opposition, except from major-general Lambert at Warrington-bridge, he advanced to Worcester, where he resolved to remain and wait the approach of the enemy. Cromwell was not long after him; on the 3d of September 1651 was fought the battle of Worcester between Charles and Cromwell, when a complete victory was gained by the latter; and the king was obliged to wander about in different parts of the kingdom in disguise, till he found an opportunity to escape to France.

Thus the king's hopes of restoration being crushed for the present, and his friends disheartened in all parts of the three kingdoms, every circumstance concurred to favour the ambition of Cromwell, who now enjoyed a power and state nearly equal to royalty; for, on his return from Worcester, he was met beyond Aylesbury by four commissioners from the parliament, who were instructed to shew him all possible marks of respect; and, at Acton, he was met by the speaker, the

the preſident of the council, the lord mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of London, and a great number of perſons of diſtinction. A ſtate-coach was likewiſe provided for him, to make his entry into London, where he was received with loud acclamations; and the parliament ſettled lands upon him and his heirs of the yearly value of 4000l.

But all the honours conferred upon him by this unſtable government he knew to be precarious; and therefore, he began to take meaſures for aſſuming a ſupreme authority over that very body from which he had derived his preſent greatneſs. Soon after the battle of Worceſter, he held a conference, at the ſpeaker's houſe, with ſeveral members of parliament, and ſome of the principal officers of the army, on the ſtate of the nation; and at this meeting he tampered with the great men in the ſeveral departments of the army, the law, and the ſtate, by deſiring that they would conſider, whether a republic, or a mixed monarchical government, would be beſt for the ſettlement of the liberties of the people on a firm baſis; and, if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power ſhould be placed. The lawyers, amongſt whom was the famous Bulſtrode Whitlocke, one of the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, and the ſtateſmen, were all of them for monarchy; and the officers of the army for a perfect republic; but though the majority of opinions was in favour of monarchy, yet Cromwell had the mortification to find that the duke of Glouceſter, one of the late king's ſons, was mentioned as the proper perſon, in caſe a mixed monarchy was admitted.

This was ſo contrary to his expectations, after the univerſal reſpect and adulation lately paid to him, that it required the utmoſt exertion of his political ſkill to enable him to conceal his reſentment. With great dexterity, however, he changed the conference to ſome other ſubject of debate; but, from this time, it ſeems as if he had determined to carry his point at all events;

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for he continually opened his mind to ſuch of the council of ſtate as were his moſt intimate friends, and ſounded their inclinations ſeparately. His arguments with Whitlocke, upon the ſubject of aſcending the throne, may be found at large in the ſecond edition of "Whitlocke's Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs: or Hiſtorical Account of what paſſed from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles I. to king Charles II. his happy Reſtoration," London, 1732. He likewiſe ſent for ſome of the moſt eminent divines in the city, particularly Dr. Edmund Calamy, whoſe influence was general, and his authority, founded in eſteem, almoſt as great in ſpiritual matters as an archbiſhop's. This honeſt miniſter very boldly oppoſed the project of Cromwell's aſſuming the ſupreme power under any title or form whatever; and offered to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell, in reply to the illegality, appealed to the ſafety of the nation; and then aſked him, "Why it was impracticable?" "Becauſe (ſaid Calamy) it is againſt the voice of the nation; there will be nine in ten againſt you." "Very well (anſwered Cromwell), but what if I ſhould diſarm the nine, and put the ſword into the tenth man's hand, would not that do the buſineſs?"

A war indeed had broken out with the Dutch in 1652, and ſome of the leading men of the republican party, both in the parliament and the council of ſtate, had it in agitation to augment the navy and reduce the army, under the pretext that a war againſt the Dutch would be moſt ſucceisfully carried on by ſea, and that the nation was not able to bear the expence of a large ſtanding army, and a powerful navy. Cromwell ſaw into this ſcheme to leſſen his influence, and, without loſs of time, made it anſwer his own purpoſe. For, repairing to the army, he excited the principal officers to draw up a petition to the parliament, demanding the payment of their arrears, and affirming, that the public revenues, if honeſtly and wiſely managed, would be ſufficient

ficient for the regular ſubſiſtence of the preſent land army, notwithſtanding any propoſed augmentation of the navy. This petition produced a warm debate, in the courſe of which, Cromwell's friends took an opportunity to remove one obſtacle to his plan of uſurpation: under pretence of leſſening the national expence, it was moved and carried, that the duke of Glouceſter, who, ſince the execution of his father, had been kept as a kind of ſtate-priſoner at St. James's, ſhould be ſent abroad, in a private manner with the promiſe of a penſion, if he did not join the king, nor any of his relations. Accordingly he was ſent to Dunkirk in a ſloop of war, with only two ſervants to attend him; but ſoon after his landing he went to the princeſs of Orange at Breda, and from thence to the king his brother at Paris. The parliament voted that the officers ſhould be reprimanded for their inſolent petition, and they were forbidden to intermeddle in the adminiſtration of government. This ſtep increaſed the mutiny, and a remonſtrance was now delivered in on the part of the army, complaining that the parliament had not performed its promiſe to diſſolve itſelf, agreeably to a former petition preſented by their body; they therefore deſired that they would now put an end to their adminiſtration; that there might be a regular ſucceſſion of parliaments; and that they would appoint a council of ſtate, to take charge of the public affairs, till a new parliament was elected and convoked. Cromwell's party ſupported a motion for diſſolving the parliament in conſequence of this remonſtrance, but the queſtion was loſt by a conſiderable majority; and it was reſolved, that it was not a proper time to diſſolve the parliament, while the nation had a war and a great many important affairs in hand; but that the vacant ſeats ſhould be filled up by new elections. A committee was likewiſe appointed to prepare a bill to make it high-treaſon to preſent ſuch petitions or remonſtrances.

Cromwell finding the parliament in this diſpoſition, and

and well knowing that a motion for diſbanding great part of the army would ſoon be made, found that he had no time to loſe; and, therefore, after holding a private conſultation with the officers, and ſome of the members of parliament in his intereſt, he reſolved on a more daring act of uſurped authority than any that had ever before been attempted in a nation whoſe civil liberty is its chief glory.

On the 20th of April 1653, while the houſe was actually debating on a motion for continuing the parliament above a year and a half longer, he entered it, accompanied by a number of officers, who were moſt devoted to him, leaving in Weſtminſter-hall, upon the ſtairs, and in the lobby, a choſen detachment of ſoldiers, to the amount of about 300 men. After attending quietly in his place for ſome time to the debates, he whiſpered major-general Harriſon, that he now thought the parliament ripe for a diſſolution; but the general requeſted him to think ſeriouſly, before he undertook ſo dangerous an action. "You ſay well," replied Cromwell, and ſat ſtill about a quarter of an hour, when, the debates being ended, and the ſpeaker preparing to put the queſtion, he ſaid to Harriſon, "This is the time I muſt do it;" and ſo, ſtanding up on a ſudden, he bade the ſpeaker leave the chair, and told the houſe they had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good. Then charging ſeveral individuals with their private vices, he told them in general, that they had not a heart to do any thing for the public good, but only an intention to perpetuate themſelves in power. And when ſome of them began to ſpeak, he ſtept into the midſt of the houſe, and ſaid, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating." Then, walking up and down the houſe, he cried out, "You are no parliament, I ſay you are no parliament;" and, ſtamping with his feet, he bade them begone, and give place to honeſter men; for the Lord had done with them, and had made choice of other inſtruments. The ſtamping on the floor being the ſignal,

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the ſoldiers entered, and he ſaid to one of them, "Take away that fool's bauble, the mace;" and the ſpeaker ſtill keeping the chair, Harriſon rudely pulled him out by the arm. After this, Cromwell told the members they had forced him to this; then ſeizing all the papers upon the table, he ordered the ſoldiers to clear the houſe: and, this being done, he locked the doors, put the keys into his pocket, and returned to Whitehall with his retinue.

He acted the ſame part by the council of ſtate in the afternoon. On entering the chamber at Whitehall, where they were aſſembled, he ſpoke thus to them: "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private perſons, you ſhall not be diſturbed; but, if as a council of ſtate, this is no place for you; and ſince you cannot but know what was done at the houſe in the morning, ſo take notice, that the parliament, which appointed you, is diſſolved." Bradſhaw, the preſident, boldly anſwered, "Sir, we have heard what you did at the houſe in the morning; and, before many hours, all England will hear of it; but, Sir, you are miſtaken to think that the parliament is diſſolved; for no power under Heaven can diſſolve them but themſelves; therefore take you notice of that." But the council finding themſelves under the ſame military force, all quietly departed. The government, ſuch as it had been ſince the execution of the king, was now effectually diſſolved, and, in the general conſternation into which the whole nation was thrown, any conſtitution whatever would have been acceptable; for the people ſeemed prepared for blind ſubmiſſion to the ruling power held by the ſword. But though the plan of a republic had been ſet on foot by ſome of the greateſt men for learning and integrity that this nation had ever produced, and, beyond their intentions, they had even conſented to the king's death, as the only expedient to eſtabliſh it, yet not a man of them aſked Cromwell to produce any inſtrument or commiſſion from the army, or any body of men in the kingdom,

kingdom, inveſting him with authority over their new-formed commonwealth; and notwithſtanding they had timely notice of his deſigns, no attempt was made ſo much as to raiſe the militia, or to call upon the civil power to aid them againſt the encroachments of the army; though the writs by which the civil magiſtrates acted were, as we have ſeen, in the name and by the authority of the commonwealth, and they had ſworn to be faithful to the ſame.

Cromwell now made a ſecond trial to obtain from his friends an invitation to aſſume the reins of government; but moſt of them ſtill perſiſting to oppoſe his ruling alone, he was obliged to nominate a new council of ſtate, conſiſting chiefly of officers of the army, and theſe prepared a form of ſummons to be iſſued in the name of Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of the forces, to one hundred and forty perſons ſelected by the council to repreſent the whole kingdom in parliament, and to ſhare with the council the adminiſtration of government. Some of theſe were taken from the loweſt claſſes of the people; and a leatherſeller in Fleet-ſtreet, named Praiſe-God Barebones, being an active man, and a great ſpeaker in this aſſembly, it was called, in deriſion, Barebones's Parliament.

A ſtriking abſurdity in ſummoning this mock parliament muſt not be paſſed over unnoticed, which is, that Oliver Cromwell continued the ſtyle and title at large conferred on him by that very parliament he had ſo ſhamefully diſſolved, and with whoſe diſſolution the inſtrument appointing him to be captain-general, &c. became null and void, the commonwealth no longer exiſting.

The caſe with reſpect to the new houſe of commons was directly the reverſe, for they were elected, and the adminiſtration of government deputed to them, by Cromwell and his council of officers, and the time of executing their authority was limited to the 3d of November 1654; by which it was evident, that nothing more

more was meant by Cromwell than to gain time to complete his ſcheme of uſurpation.

While theſe important changes took place in England, the government of Ireland had devolved on lieutenant-general Edmund Ludlow, by the demiſe of Ireton, who died of the plague at Limerick in November 1651. Ludlow was a zealous republican, and an able and a ſucceſsful general, to whoſe valour and military ſkill the Long Parliament, and even Cromwell himſelf, had been greatly indebted. His authority and influence in the army were ſo conſiderable as to excite Cromwell's jealouſy, and, though he had been in the active meaſures againſt Charles I. was a principal promoter of the vote for receiving no more meſſages from him, had ſat upon his trial and ſigned the warrant for his execution, he no ſooner diſcovered the ambitious deſigns of Cromwell, but he oppoſed them publicly and privately, and this occaſioned his being ſent over to Ireland, to act under Ireton. And as ſoon as Cromwell had diſſolved the Long Parliament, he ſent general Fleetwood to ſuperſede him in the chief command in Ireland, that he might leſſen the weight of his oppoſition to his uſurpation. Upon Cromwell's being declared protector, general Ludlow uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent his being proclaimed in Ireland, but without ſucceſs; after which, he refuſed to act under his authority in any department of the civil government, but he would not ſurrender up his commiſſion. Soon after the appointment of Henry Cromwell to the government of Ireland, Ludlow came to England, and was cloſely examined by Oliver and his council; when he ſo freely declared his ſentiments againſt the new form of government, that the protector was upon the point of commiting him, but Ludlow reminding him of an article in the famous petition of right, he found it expedient to diſmiſs him. After this he retired into the country, and remained unmoleſted during Oliver Cromwell's adminiſtration. After his death, a new

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parliament being called, he ſat in it, upon being excuſed from taking the oath not to act againſt Richard Cromwell; and now he uſed all his endeavours to bring about the eſtabliſhment of a commonwealth; and when Richard Cromwell reſigned, he went over to Ireland commander in chief. But the Reſtoration taking place ſoon after, and the judges of the late king being required by proclamation to ſurrender, he went abroad and reſided at Geneva, Lauſanne, and Vevay, till the Revolution, when he came to England, in order to exert his old age in that glorious cauſe, and expecting to be employed in Ireland againſt the Popiſh and other adherents of James II. But ſome time after his public appearance at London, an addreſs was preſented to king William, by the houſe of commons, for a proclamation to apprehend colonel Ludlow, attainted of the murder of Charles I. which obliged him to return to his former place of exile (Vevay in Switzerland), where he died in 1693, in the 75th year of his age.

Whitlocke, another powerful obſtacle in the way of Cromwell's advancement to the protectorſhip, was craftily ſent on an embaſſy to Chriſtina, queen of Sweden: and his appointment was accompanied with ſuch marks of honour, that he could not with decency refuſe it. Accordingly, he embarked at Graveſend on the 15th of November 1653, with a ſplendid retinue; and on the 12th of December following, the Little (as it is ſometimes called) or Barebones's Parliament, voted that their ſitting any longer would not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that it was fit they ſhould reſign their powers to the lord-general. Their reſignation was followed by that of the council of officers, after which, a private conſultation was held at Whitehall, by a junto of officers and lawyers, the creatures of Cromwell, when it was reſolved, that he ſhould be inveſted with the ſupreme authority, under the title of "Lord Protector of the Three Nations;" and an inſtrument of government was prepared accordingly. All things be-

ing ready for this freſh revolution, proper notice was given for the ſolemnity of his inauguration, which was performed with great ceremony in the court of chancery in Weſtminſter-hall on the 16th of the ſame month. Oliver, after having ſubſcribed and ſworn to govern according to the aforeſaid inſtrument, was ſeated, covered, in a chair of ſtate, when the commiſſioners delivered up the great-ſeal, and the lord-mayor of London his ſword, and the keys of the city, with the uſual formalities obſerved to kings; which he returned with the ſame ſtate: and then the court aroſe, and went in proceſſion to Whitehall, the lord-mayor carrying the ſword of ſtate before the protector.

The ſupreme legiſlative power, according to the new form of government, was lodged in the protector and the parliament; the executive, in the protector and his council, who were not to exceed twenty-one, nor be leſs than thirteen in number. All writs, patents, and commiſſions, to be in the name of the protector, and all honours and offices to be derived from him. In a word, he was veſted with the beſt rights and privileges of a king of England; and as to the privileges of the people, they were better provided for by this inſtrument of government, than by any other, if it had been adhered to ſtrictly and impartially; for triennial parliaments were eſtabliſhed, and a more equal repreſentation of the people, admitting the elections to be free; the number of members to be ſent to parliament by each county, city, and borough, being regulated in proportion to the ſums paid by each towards the national expence, which determined in a great meaſure their extent and importance; and many of the ſmaller boroughs, ſo often complained of, and, in our day, diſcovered to be the rotten part of the conſtitution, were totally excluded. No laws were to be altered, ſuſpended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or impoſition, laid upon the people, but by common conſent in parliament; and bills paſſed

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in parliament were declared to have the force of laws, twenty days after they ſhould be offered to the protector, though his aſſent ſhould be refuſed. The office of protector was to be elective, not hereditary. Theſe are the moſt material points contained in the inſtrument, which conſiſted of forty-two articles.

We ſhall find in the ſequel, that Cromwell's ambition did not ſtop here; but, having once acquired the ſupreme power, we muſt attend him in his adminiſtration of government, which was equally glorious to himſelf and to the nation, ſo far as it reſpected the foreign concerns of the three kingdoms, and the adminiſtration of juſtice at home.

The protector being proclaimed in London and Weſtminſter, and all over England, with the ſame ſolemnity as the kings of England had been formerly, he was invited to dine with the lord-mayor of London; and he went into the city with as much ſtate as ever any king had done upon a like occaſion; and the rejoicings being over on account of his inauguration, he proceeded to public buſineſs. The firſt grand national ſervice he performed was, to conclude an honourable peace with the Dutch, by which he obtained the reſtitution of a ſettlement in the Eaſt Indies, which had been taken from the Engliſh in the reign of James I. and 300,000l. as an indemnification for the damage ſuſtained by the Engliſh factors, or their heirs, by the cruel maſſacre at Amboyna in the ſame reign. Theſe two points had been the ſubject of many fruitleſs negociations; but the ſpirit and firmneſs of Cromwell, and the dread of his fleet and armies, procured ample ſatisfaction. The peace between England and Holland was proclaimed at London on the 17th of April 1654, with great ſolemnity; and the people ſhewed the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, and of gratitude to the protector. In the next place, he entered into an advantageous alliance with France, at the ſame time his friendſhip was courted by the kings of Spain and Portugal, and ſplen-

did embaſſies were ſent from both, to congratulate him on his acceſſion to his new dignity.

While the ſeveral ambaſſadors of the moſt conſiderable princes of Europe were thus paying their court to this fortunate uſurper, an accident happened at London, the conſequences of which filled all Europe with admiration and aſtoniſhment, made the very name of Cromwell reſpectable in all parts of the known world, and eſtabliſhed his character as a great man, who would make himſelf feared by ſea and land.

The affair is thus related in brief by the beſt contemporary hiſtorians. Don Pantaleon de Saa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, being proud of his rank and his reputation as a ſoldier, conceiving that he received an affront one day from ſome Engliſh gentlemen at the New Exchange, repaired thither on the morrow, accompanied by his domeſtics, and about fifty Portugueſe, armed with ſwords and piſtols, when miſtaking colonel Mayo for Mr. Anthuſer, the gentleman they went in ſearch of, they fell upon him, and gave him ſeven dangerous wounds, after which, they wantonly ſhot Mr. Greenway, of Lincoln's Inn, through the head. This gentleman was walking upon the Exchange with two ladies, and was totally ignorant of the affront which had happened the preceding day, in which the Portugueſe had been the aggreſſors; for colonel Gerrard, underſtanding French, overheard them diſcourſing on the public affairs of England; upon which he told them politely, that they miſrepreſented certain facts; whereupon one of Don Pantaleon's company gave the colonel the lie, and three of them falling upon him, he was ſtabbed in the ſhoulder with a dagger. In this extremity, Mr. Anthuſer came to his aſſiſtance and reſcued him, for which they vowed vengeance on that gentleman; but, not finding him, committed the above outrage and murder on innocent perſons. They likewiſe brought ſeveral jars of gunpowder in their coaches, ſtopped down with wax, and matches; intending,

ing, as it was ſuppoſed, to do ſome miſchief to the Exchange, if they had not been prevented. The parliament-horſe at the Mews were ſent for to quell the riot, who ſeized ſome of the Portugueſe, but the greateſt part fled for refuge to the ambaſſador's houſe; upon which colonel Whalley inveſted it with a party of horſe, and diſpatched a meſſenger to inform the protector of his proceedings. The ambaſſador at firſt ordered his domeſtics to ſtand to their arms; but Whalley having received inſtructions to inſiſt upon his delivering up his brother, and the principal rioters, to the peace-officers, he thought proper to comply, and contented himſelf with complaining to Cromwell of this violation of the law of nations, by infringing the privileges of ambaſſadors, whoſe houſes and perſons are held to be exempt from the juriſdiction of the country wherein they reſide. Cromwell, with great magnanimity, replied, that juſtice muſt be done, and that blood muſt be ſatisfied with blood. All the other foreign ambaſſadors in London warmly intereſted themſelves in this unhappy affair, not conceiving it poſſible, that a man of Don Pantaleon's high quality, a knight of Malta, and the brother of an ambaſſador, ought to be queſtioned for the murder of an obſcure Engliſhman; but all their remonſtrances were ineffectual; the fact was notorious, and Don Pantaleon, being tried by a jury, half Engliſh and half foreigners, was condemned, and beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 10th of July 1654: and ſo coolly did Cromwell proceed in this admirable example of juſtice, that he concluded a treaty of peace with the ambaſſador, highly advantageous to England, almoſt at the very hour that his brother was led to execution.

Cromwell being now at peace with all the principal powers of Europe, proceeded with great firmneſs in the domeſtic adminiſtration of government; but ſtill there was a ſtrong party againſt him in the nation, and though by the inſtrument of government care had been taken, that the houſe of commons ſhould be in a great

meaſure of his own chuſing; yet, when they came to meet, which was on Sunday the third of September, notwithſtanding a flattering ſpeech from the protector, in which he extolled the advantages already derived from the new form of government, and ſtyled himſelf not their maſter, but their fellow-labourer, their firſt deliberations were employed in examining and calling in queſtion the authority by which they were convened. Cromwell, aſtoniſhed at this unexpected meaſure, ſummoned them to the Painted-chamber, where he changed his ſtyle to that of a maſter, and reprimanded them for preſuming to doubt an authority from which their own was derived; and upon their return to the houſe, they found a guard at the door, who would not ſuffer any member to enter, till he had ſigned a recognition "that he would be true and faithful to the lord-protector, and that he would not propoſe or give conſent to alter the government, as it was ſettled in one ſingle perſon, and a parliament." This recogniton was ſubſcribed the firſt day by 130 members, and afterwards, by others to the amount of 300; but major Harriſon, for his refuſal, was ſecured by a party of horſe, and was deprived of his commiſſion in the army, together with Overton, Rich, and Okey, who had great influence in the army, and had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed him from the time of his aſſuming the office of protector. Many, who had ſigned the recognition, did it only upon compulſion, and, deteſting this arbitrary ſtep, engaged ſecretly in a conſpiracy with the cavaliers againſt his perſon and government, promiſing to riſe in arms in different parts of the kingdom. But the protector, who had exact intelligence from his ſpies of all their proceedings, reſolved, if they did oppoſe him, it ſhould not be as a public body, but only as private men, and therefore diſſolved them abruptly, eleven days before the expiration of the time limited by the inſtrument of government; and he took care to inform them, that he was appriſed of their deſigns. This packed houſe of commons,

commons, however, voted him the protectorſhip for life, and aſſigned him all the royal palaces for his uſe; and he now never appeared in public, but with a ſplendor and retinue which exceeded the pomp of royalty. A fruitleſs inſurrection in the weſt, under the conduct of Sir John Wagſtaff, and the colonels Penruddock, Groves, and Jones, opened the domeſtic tranſactions of the year 1655. They entered Saliſbury, ſeized on the judges and ſheriffs at the time of the Lent aſſizes, and obliged them to proclaim the king; but their ſmall force, amounting to only 200 horſe, was ſoon after defeated by colonel Butler; and Penruddock and Groves, being taken priſoners, were executed at Exeter.

This attempt of the cavaliers exaſperated Cromwell, who, inſtead of a protector, became a tyrant; for he iſſued an edict for levying the tenth of the eſtates of all who profeſſed themſelves, or were ſuſpected to be cavaliers; and the moſt obnoxious of the royal party were ſeized and tranſported to America. In order to levy the cruel and oppreſſive impoſition he had laid upon thoſe who remained at home, he divided the whole kingdom of England into twelve diſtricts, and appointed a major-general over each, who, with the aſſiſtance of commiſſioners, were impowered to decimate whomſoever they pleaſed, to levy all taxes impoſed by the protector and his council, and to ſeize and impriſon any perſon whom they ſhould ſuſpect. Veſted with ſuch illegal powers, they neceſſarily became petty tyrants, and ſo oppreſſed the people, that Cromwell, for his own ſafety, was obliged to aboliſh their office, but not till they had anſwered his ends, by extirpating, or ſubjecting, the cavaliers.

Such a general diſaffection to the government now prevailed, that ſeditious publications appeared every day, in which the protector was ſtigmatized as a tyrannical uſurper, and openly menaced with depoſition and condign puniſhment; upon which an order of council was iſſued againſt publiſhing any news-papers without

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leave of the ſecretary of ſtate, or any books or pamphlets without a licence.

In September 1656, Cromwell's third aſſembly, under the denomination of a parliament, met at Weſtminſter, and having ſucceſsfully influenced the election, he now found the houſe filled with his creatures. The firſt act they made was to "renounce and diſannul the title of Charles Stuart unto the ſovereign dominions of the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland." The ſecond was to "make it high-treaſon to conſpire the death of the protector." In ſhort, they proceeded in every thing juſt as Cromwell wiſhed; they approved of the alliance he had entered into with France in the courſe of the preceding year; and of the war againſt Spain, which was the conſequence of it, and they granted large ſupplies to carry it on with vigour. At length, the time limited for their ſeſſion approaching, Pack, an alderman of London, and one of its members, made a formal motion, that Cromwell ſhould be elected king, which threw the whole houſe into confuſion. The oppoſition to it proceeded chiefly from the officers of the army, who openly declared, that if Cromwell accepted the crown, they would reſign their commiſſions, and ſhould no longer have it in their power to ſerve him; but notwithſtanding their oppoſition, the motion was approved by a great majority, and a bill was prepared accordingly, which was preſented to the protector on the 4th of April 1657, with an addreſs, intitled, their "Humble Advice and Petition;" the principal drift of it being to perſuade him to accept the crown. But he now, for the firſt time, made it manifeſt to the whole world that all his power was derived from, and dependent on, the army: for, having conſulted ſome of the general officers apart, while the bill was preparing in the houſe, and finding even Fleetwood his ſon-in-law, who had married Ireton's widow, and Deſborough, his brother-in-law, utterly averſe to it, he would not venture to give the houſe a direct anſwer; but in order to gain time,

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and in expectation of prevailing with the army, he desired that a committee might be appointed to confer with him on this important affair. In the mean time, Desborough applied to colonel Pride, imparting to him the protector's design to accept the crown; upon which he boldly replied, "He shall not;" and desired a petition to the house might be drawn, which was accordingly done by the learned Dr. Owen.

The next day, most of the officers quartered in town went with colonel Pride to the house of commons, and sent in a message to Desborough to let him know that they had a petition to the house, which they desired him to present; but he thought it most prudent only to move, that they might be called in and present it themselves; to which the house, not suspecting the contents, readily assented; and the petition being delivered by lieutenant-colonel Mason, was read, and found to contain in substance "that they had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and were still ready so to do; that finding an attempt was making to press their general to take upon him the title and government of a king, in order to destroy him, they humbly desired that the house would discountenance all such endeavours;" and the protector, finding he was circumvented, went to the house, and sent for the commons to the Painted-chamber, where, with a great appearance of humility, and as if actuated by pious sentiments, he declared that he could not undertake the government with the title of king; but it was evident, that he intended to exercise the supreme authority, under any other title whatever. The house thereupon drew up a new deed, or instrument of government, under the title of "The Humble Petition and Advice," by which his title of protector was confirmed for his life; he was empowered to nominate a successor, an annual revenue was settled upon him, and his powers, in some respects, were enlarged; but they were diminished in others, and he afterwards felt the weight of this alteration. He was likewise

likewiſe empowered to form another houſe of parliament, the members of which ſhould enjoy their ſeats for life, and exerciſe ſome functions of the former houſe of peers. Herein his uſual policy forſook him, for he hoped to make the ſeats in this other houſe of his own appointing ſo many rewards, or bribes, to ſecure to himſelf a ſet of favourites wholly devoted to him; but he was miſerably diſappointed; for, by the tranſlation of ſome of his moſt zealous friends into the upper-houſe, room was made in the lower aſſembly for ſeveral of the republican members formerly excluded, who were now re-elected, and a majority was thereby formed in that houſe againſt the form of government in a ſingle perſon, whether diſtinguiſhed by the title of king, protector, or captain-general. The legality of the new inſtrument, called "The Humble Petition and Advice," was diſputed with great reaſon, as being enacted by a parliament deprived of its liberty, a great number of the members having been excluded by military force for refuſing to ſubſcribe the recognition. Upon this ground they refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the other houſe, and Cromwell proceeded to menaces; but the commons paid no regard either to his threats or his authority; upon which he was obliged to have recourſe to the old expedient of diſſolving the houſe; and from this time, in imitation of Charles I. he governed without a parliament.

Whilſt his power was thus declining at home, the public concerns of the nation abroad were conducted with ſuch ſpirit and policy, and attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the power, political intereſt, and commerce of England, were better ſupported than they had been at any other period ſince the reign of Elizabeth.

Spain declared war againſt England in 1655, in conſequence of Cromwell's treaty of peace and alliance with France; and in the month of June, in the ſame year, his Admirals Penn and Venables took Jamaica, a very

very valuable iſland in the Weſt Indies, belonging to the Spaniards, which from that time has remained part of the Britiſh empire, and has proved to be a moſt profitable commercial acquiſition. As to the glorious naval expeditions under the conduct of admiral Blake, the reader will find a full account of them in the life of that renowned commander. An Engliſh army being ſent to Flanders, to aſſiſt the French in the conqueſt of that country, gave ſignal proofs of the bravery and excellent diſcipline of his forces, and had the principal ſhare in taking Mardyke and Dunkirk, which were put into the hands of the Engliſh; and the latter remained to the crown of Great Britain till it was ſold by Charles II. in 1662, for 500,000l. a meaſure which has been warmly condemned by our hiſtorians; but the only fault was the miſapplication of the money, being expended by his majeſty in the ſupport of his miſtreſſes, inſtead of coming into the public treaſury. For, with reſpect to the place itſelf, whoever is well acquainted with its ſituation, cannot but know, that it muſt have been attended with a very heavy national expence, and a continual loſs of men, to have kept poſſeſſion of it, while the French were maſters of Liſle, and, from the centre of their kingdom, could ſend down large armies to that garriſon, from which detachments could be continually draughted off to annoy Dunkirk, equally acceſſible likewiſe by ſea, ſo that it required a ſtrong naval and land force for its defence.

Cromwell, though in alliance with France, would not ſubmit to the encroaching ſpirit of that people, who in the rivalry of commerce are perpetually endeavouring to take advantage of the Engliſh, even in times of peace and amity. The magnanimity of his conduct, upon the following occaſion, does honour to his memory. An Engliſh merchant-ſhip was taken by a French man of war in the Britiſh Channel, carried into St. Malo's, and there confiſcated, on the pretext, that ſhe was carrying on a contraband trade to the coaſt of France. The

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maſter of the ſhip, a Quaker, upon his return home, preſented a petition to the protector in council, ſtating his caſe, and praying for redreſs. Upon hearing the petition, Cromwell told the council, that he would take that affair upon himſelf, and he ordered the Quaker to attend him the next morning; and being convinced that he had not been concerned in any unlawful trade, he aſked him, if he could go with a letter to Paris? The man anſwering in the affirmative, he ordered him to prepare for his journey, and to wait on him again the next morning, when he gave him a letter for cardinal Mazarine, prime-miniſter to Louis XIV. then in his minority; and told him to wait only three days for an anſwer. "The anſwer I mean (ſaid the protector) is the full value of your ſhip and cargo; and tell the cardinal, if it is not paid you in that ſpace of time, you have orders from me to return home." The Quaker punctually executed his commiſſion; for, not obtaining ſatisfaction, he returned, as he was ordered, and went to the protector, who immediately aſked him, if he had got his money; and upon his anſwering that he had not, he told him, he ſhould very ſoon hear from him. Oliver, inſtead of commencing a tedious miniſterial negociation, during the continuation of which the injured ſubject is often ruined, ſent ſome men of war into the Channel to make repriſals; and in a few days they brought in two or three French merchant ſhips, which the protector ſold by public ſale, and out of the produce he paid the Quaker the value of his ſhip and cargo. Then ſending for the French reſident, he gave him the account, ſtated debtor and creditor, and told him there was a balance in his favour, which ſhould be paid to him, that he might remit it, if he thought proper, to the owners of the French ſhips that had been ſold to pay the Quaker.

The French miniſtry, after this remarkable tranſaction, dreaded giving him the leaſt offence, and even ſubmitted to his interference in diſputes with their Proteſtant

teſtant ſubjects, the Hugonots, whom he took under his protection. Indeed, his zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt in Europe was as conſpicuous as it was laudable; for the duke of Savoy, having perſecuted the Voudois, his Proteſtant ſubjects, maſſacring many and driving others into exile, he applied to the French court, knowing that the duke of Savoy was under French influence, and obliged Mazarine to apply to the duke to ſtop the perſecution. He alſo wrote to the duke upon the occaſion, and would not be ſatisfied, till the Vaudois were indemnified for their loſſes, and their former privileges renewed.

We are now arrived at the concluding ſcene of the life of this fortunate uſurper. In the courſe of the year 1657, plots upon plots were formed againſt his perſon and government by the republicans and the cavaliers, which, though they were diſcovered, gave him great uneaſineſs, and the anxiety of his mind began to affect his health. A pamphlet was likewiſe publiſhed, written by colonel Titus, intitled, "Killing no Murder," which filled him with ſuch apprehenſions of being aſſaſſinated, that he wore a coat of mail under his clothes, carried loaded piſtols in his pockets, and hardly ever ſlept two nights together in the ſame chamber. The year 1658 opened with a public avowal of his fears, by rigorous proſecutions of ſundry perſons of rank for being concerned in conſpiracies againſt him, and for want of legal evidence of their guilt, they were tried before new created tribunals, and condemned to die, without a jury, by judges, who were their ſworn enemies. Theſe tribunals were called "High Courts of Juſtice;" and by them were condemned, as traitors, Sir Henry Slingſby, Dr. Hewet, an eminent divine of the church of England, colonel Aſhton, Mr. Stacy, and Mr. Beſtley; the two firſt were beheaded; but the others ſuffered the uſual ſentence for traitors, and were executed, with great barbarity, by Cromwell's expreſs orders, as a terror to others. At length, increaſing vexation, and pro-

bably the weight and coldneſs of the armour he conſtantly wore, brought on a double tertian ague, the hot fits of which becoming very violent about the middle of Auguſt, he removed from Hampton-court to Whitehall, and ſoon after, his phyſicians pronounced his caſe to be deſperate. Of his behaviour during his illneſs ſuch various and contradictory accounts have been given by different writers, according as they were influenced by religion, party, or prejudice, that it is difficult to find a medium which may be ſuppoſed to approach the neareſt to truth. Of all the accounts, however, that of Ludlow, in his Memoirs, appears to be the moſt candid, and probable: we ſhall, therefore, give it a place here, in his own words:

"When the ſymptoms of death were apparent upon him, and many miniſters and others aſſembled in a chamber at Whitehall, praying for him, he manifeſted ſo little remorſe of conſcience for having betrayed the public cauſe, by ſacrificing it to the idol of his own ambition, that ſome of his laſt words were rather becoming a mediator than a ſinner, recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had ſo infamouſly cheated, and expreſſing a great care of the people whom he had ſo manifeſtly deſpiſed. But he ſeemed, above all, concerned for the reproaches he ſaid men would caſt upon his name in trampling on his aſhes when dead. In this temper of mind he departed this life." And from this conciſe ſketch of his dying ſentiments, carefully compared with the tranſactions of his life, an unprejudiced perſon may be able to form a juſter character of this extraordinary man, than from any of the numerous delineations of it in thoſe fulſome panegyrics in proſe and verſe, compoſed by his adulators, or in thoſe ſcurrilous libels penned by his adverſaries, and offered up as incenſe to the ſacred majeſty of kings. Cromwell himſelf appears to have had great hopes of his recovery, by his deferring to name his ſucceſſor till the very night before his death, which happened on the 3d of Septem-

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ber, a date which had been twice remarkably fortunate to him; from which circumſtance, the enthuſiaſts around him drew the happieſt preſages of his future ſtate. He was buried, with greater pomp than many of our kings, in Weſtminſter-abbey, after having lain in ſtate at Somerſet-houſe, at the expence, (according to Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian) of 60,000l. The deſcriptions given of his perſon are, that he was rather above the middle ſtature, had a manly ſtern aſpect, and a robuſt conſtitution, able to endure the greateſt bodily fatigues, and the cloſeſt application to buſineſs.

Oliver Cromwell's ſurviving iſſue were, 1. Richard, his ſucceſſor. 2. Henry, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. 3. Bridget, married firſt to Ireton, and, after his death, to Fleetwood. 4. Mary, married to lord Falconberg. 5. Frances, married firſt to Mr. Rich, grandſon to the earl of Warwick, and, after his death, to Sir John Ruſſel of Chippenham. He had another daughter whoſe name was Elizabeth, married to John Claypole, Eſq. his maſter of the horſe; and though all his daughters were ladies poſſeſſed of extraordinary natural and acquired accompliſhments, Mrs. Claypole was his favourite; and her death, which preceded his own but a ſhort time, lay heavy at his heart, and, it is ſaid, greatly contributed to haſten his diſſolution.

*** *Authorities.* Rapin. Harris's Life of Cromwell. Ludlow's Memoirs. Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian.

☞ The remaining tranſactions of the Interregnum will be found in the Life of General Monk.

THE LIFE OF,

ADMIRAL BLAKE.

[A. D. 1598, to 1657.]

ROBERT BLAKE, celebrated in the annals of Britain, as one of her braveſt naval commanders, was the ſon of a merchant at Bridgewater in Somerſetſhire, and was born there in the year 1598. Of his infant years we know nothing more than that he received the firſt rudiments of his education at the grammar-ſchool of Bridgewater. He went from thence to Oxford in 1615, where he was entered at St. Alban's Hall. From thence he removed to Wadham-college. On the 10th of February 1617, he took the degree of bachelor of arts. In 1623, he wrote a copy of verſes on the death of Mr. Camden, and ſoon after left the univerſity. He was tinctured pretty early with republican principles, and diſliking that ſeverity with which Dr. Laud, then biſhop of Bath and Wells, preſſed uniformity in his dioceſe, he began to fall into the Puritanical opinions.—The natural bluntneſs and ſincerity of his diſpoſition led him to ſpeak freely upon all occaſions, inſomuch that his ſentiments being generally known, the Puritan party got him elected member for Bridgewater in 1640. When the civil war broke out, he declared for the parliament. In 1643, he was at Briſtol, under the command of colonel Fiennes, who intruſted him with a little fort on the line; and, as lord Clarendon informs us, when prince Rupert attacked Briſtol, and the governor had agreed to ſurrender it upon articles, Mr. Blake, nevertheleſs for ſome time, held out his fort, and killed ſeveral of the king's forces, which exaſperated prince Rupert to ſuch a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not ſome friends interpoſed, and excuſed him on account of his want of experience in war. He ſerved afterwards

afterwards in Somerſetſhire, under the command of Popham, governor of Lyme, and, as he was much beloved in thoſe parts, he had ſuch good intelligence there, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, ſurpriſed Taunton for the parliament. In 1644, he was appointed governor of this place, which was of the utmoſt importance, being the only garriſon the parliament had in the weſt. The works about it were not ſtrong, nor was the garriſon numerous, yet, by his ſtrict diſcipline, and kind behaviour to the townſmen, he found means to keep the place, though not properly furniſhed with ſupplies, notwithſtanding he was ſometimes beſieged, and often blocked up by the king's forces. At length Goring, having come before the place with near ten thouſand men, made a breach and actually took part of the town. Blake, however, ſtill held out the other part, and the caſtle, till relief came. For this ſervice, the parliament ordered the garriſon a bounty of two thouſand pounds, and the governor a preſent of five hundred. When the parliament had voted no farther addreſſes ſhould be made to the king, colonel Blake joined in an addreſs from the borough of Taunton, expreſſing their gratefulneſs for this ſtep taken by the houſe of commons. However, when the king came to be tried, Blake diſapproved of that meaſure, as illegal, and was frequently heard to ſay, he would as freely venture his life to ſave the king's, as ever he did to ſerve the parliament. But this is thought to have been chiefly owing to the humanity of his temper, ſince after the death of the king, he fell in wholly with the republican party, and, next to Cromwell, was the ableſt officer the parliament had. In 1649, he was appointed to command the fleet, in conjunction with colonel Deane and colonel Popham. Soon after, he was ordered to ſail, with a ſquadron of men of war, in purſuit of prince Rupert. Blake came before Kinſale in June 1649, where prince Rupert lay in harbour. He kept him in the harbour till the beginning of October, when

the prince deſpairing of relief by ſea, and Cromwell being ready to take the town by land, proviſions of all ſorts falling ſhort, he reſolved to force his way through Blake's ſquadron, which he effected with the loſs of three of his ſhips. The prince's fleet ſteered their courſe to Liſbon, where they were protected by the king of Portugal. Blake ſent to the king for leave to enter, and coming near with his ſhips, the caſtle ſhot at him; upon which he dropt anchor, and ſent a boat to know the reaſon of this hoſtility. The captain of the caſtle anſwered, he had no orders from the king to let his ſhips paſs: however, the king commanded one of the lords of the court to wait upon Blake, and to deſire him not to come in except the weather proved bad, leſt ſome quarrel ſhould happen between him and prince Rupert.—The king ſent him, at the ſame time, a large preſent of freſh proviſions. The weather proving bad, Blake ſailed up the river into the bay of Wyeers, but two miles from the place where prince Rupert's ſhips lay, and thence he ſent captain Moulton, to inform the king of the falſities in the prince's declaration. The king, however, ſtill refuſing to allow the admiral to attack prince Rupert, Blake took five of the Brazil fleet richly laden, and at the ſame time ſent notice to him, that, unleſs he ordered the prince's ſhips out from his river, he would ſeize the reſt of the Portugueſe fleet, from America. In September 1650, the prince endeavoured to get out of the harbour, but was ſoon driven in again by Blake, who ſent to England nine Portugueſe ſhips bound for Brazil; and, in October following, he and Popham met with a fleet of twenty-three ſail from Brazil for Liſbon, of whom they ſunk the admiral, took the vice-admiral, and eleven other ſhips, having ten thouſand cheſts of ſugar on board, and burnt three more: the reſt were ſmall ſhips, and during the action got into the river. In his return home he met with two ſhips in ſearch of the prince, whom he followed up the Streights. In this criſis, he took a French man of war, the captain of

which

which had committed hoſtilities. He ſent this prize, which was reported to be worth a million, into Cadiz, and followed the prince to the port of Carthagena, where he lay with the remainder of his fleet. As ſoon as Blake came to an anchor before the fort, he ſent a meſſenger to the Spaniſh governor, informing him, that an enemy to the ſtate of England was in his port, that the parliament commanded him to purſue him; and, the king of Spain being in amity with the parliament, he deſired leave to take all advantages againſt their enemy. The governor replied, he could not take notice of the difference of any nations or perſons amongſt themſelves, only ſuch as were declared enemies to the king his maſter; that they came in thither for ſafety, therefore he could not refuſe them protection, and that he would do the like for the admiral. Blake ſtill preſſed the governor to permit him to attack the prince, and the Spaniard put him off till he could have orders from Madrid. While the admiral was cruizing in the Mediterranean, prince Rupert got out of Carthagena, and ſailed to Malaga. Blake, having notice of his deſtroying many Engliſh ſhips, followed him with all expedition, and attacked him in the port, burnt and deſtroyed his whole fleet, two ſhips only excepted, the Reformation, prince Rupert's ſhip, and the Swallow, commanded by his brother, prince Maurice.

This was in January 1651. In February, Blake took a French man of war of forty guns, and ſent it, with four other prizes, to England. Soon after, he came with his ſquadron to Plymouth, when he received the thanks of the parliament, and was made warden of the Cinque-ports. On the fourth of March following, an act paſſed, whereby colonel Blake, colonel Popham, and colonel Deane, or any two of them, were appointed admirals and generals of the fleet for the year enſuing.

The next ſervice Blake was put upon, was the reducing the iſles of Scilly, which were held for the king.

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He ſailed in May, with a body of eight hundred land-troops on board. Sir John Greenville, who commanded in thoſe parts for the king, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, ſubmitted. Blake ſailed next for Guernſey, which was held for the king by Sir George Carteret. He arrived there in the month of October, and landed what forces he had the next day, and did every thing in his power in order to make a ſpeedy conqueſt of the iſland, which was not completed that year. In the beginning of the next, however, the governor, finding all hopes of relief vain, thought proper to make the beſt terms he could. For this ſervice Blake had thanks from the parliament, and was elected one of the council of ſtate.

In 1652, broke out the memorable war between the two commonwealths of England and Holland; a war, in which the greateſt admirals that perhaps any age has produced, were engaged on each ſide; in which nothing leſs was conteſted than the dominion of the ſea, and which was carried on with vigour, animoſity, and reſolution, proportioned to the importance of the diſpute. The chief commanders of the Dutch fleets were Van Trump, De Ruyter, and De Witt, the moſt celebrated names of their own nation, and who had been perhaps more renowned, had they been oppoſed by any other enemies. The ſtates of Holland having carried on their trade without oppoſition, and almoſt without competition, not only during the inactive reign of king James I. but during the commotions of England, had arrived to that height of naval power, and that affluence of wealth, that, with the arrogance which a long-continued proſperity naturally produces, they began to invent new claims, and to treat other nations with inſolence, which nothing can defend but ſuperiority of force.

They had for ſome time made uncommon preparations at a vaſt expence, and had equipped a large fleet, without any apparent danger threatening them, or any avowed

avowed deſign of attacking their neighbours. This unuſual armament was not beheld by the Engliſh without ſome jealouſy; and care was taken to fit out ſuch a fleet as might ſecure the trade from interruption, and the coaſts from inſults: of this Blake was conſtituted admiral for nine months.

In this ſituation the two nations remained, keeping a watchful eye upon each other, without hoſtilities on either ſide, till the 18th of May 1652, when Van Trump appeared in the Downs, with a fleet of forty-five men of war. Blake, who had then but twenty ſhips, upon the approach of the Dutch admiral, ſaluted him with three ſingle ſhot, to require that he ſhould ſtrike his flag: upon which Van Trump, in contempt, fired on the contrary ſide. Blake fired a ſecond and a third gun, which the Dutch admiral anſwered with a broadſide: the Engliſh admiral therefore perceiving his intention to fight, detached himſelf from the reſt of the fleet to treat with Van Trump upon the point of honour, and to prevent the effuſion of blood, and a national quarrel. When Blake approached nearer to Van Trump, he and the reſt of the fleet, contrary to the law of nations (the Engliſh admiral coming with a deſign to treat), fired on Blake with whole broadſides. The admiral was in his cabin, drinking with ſome officers, little expecting to be thus ſaluted, when the ſhot broke the windows of the ſhip, and ſhattered the ſtern, which put him into a vehement paſſion; ſo that, curling his whiſkers, as he uſed to do when he was angry, he commanded his men to anſwer the Dutch in their own way, ſaying, when his heat was ſomewhat over, "He took it very ill of Van Trump, that he ſhould take his ſhip for a bawdy houſe, and break his windows." Blake for ſome time ſtood alone againſt the whole Dutch fleet, till the reſt of his ſquadron coming up, the fight was continued from between four and five in the afternoon till nine at night, when the Dutch retired with the loſs of two ſhips, not having deſtroyed a ſingle Engliſh veſſel, nor more than

fifteen

fifteen men, moſt of which were on board the admiral, who, as he wrote to the parliament, was himſelf engaged for four hours with the main body of the Dutch fleet, being the mark at which they aimed; and, as Whitlocke relates, received above a thouſand ſhot. Blake, in his letter, acknowledges the particular bleſſing and preſervation of God, and aſcribes his ſucceſs to the juſtice of his cauſe, the Dutch having firſt attacked him upon the Engliſh coaſt.

After this engagement, the ſtates-general ſeemed inclined to peace; but the commonwealth of England demanded ſuch terms as the Dutch would not comply with, and therefore both ſides prepared to carry on the war with great vigour. Blake now harraſſed the enemy, by taking their merchant-ſhips, in which he had great ſucceſs. On the 10th of June, a detachment from his fleet fell upon ſix-and-twenty Dutch merchantmen, and took them every one, and, by the end of June, he had ſent into port forty prizes. On the ſecond of July, he ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron northwards. In his courſe, he took a Dutch man of war, and about the latter end of the month he fell in with twelve men of war, convoy to their herring-buſſes, took the whole convoy, a hundred of their buſſes, and diſperſed the reſt.

On the 12th of Auguſt, he returned into the Downs, with ſix of the Dutch men of war, and nine hundred priſoners. Thence he ſtood over for the coaſt of Holland; and on the 28th of September, having diſcovered the Dutch about noon, though he had only three of his own ſquadron with him, vice admiral Penn, with his ſquadron at ſome diſtance, and the reſt a league or two aſtern, he bore in among the Dutch fleet, being bravely ſeconded by Penn and Bourne; three of the enemy's ſhips were totally diſabled at the firſt onſet, and another as ſhe was towing off. The rear admiral was taken by captain Mildmay; and, had not night intervened, it was thought not a ſingle ſhip out of the Dutch fleet would have eſcaped. On the twenty-ninth, about day-break,

break, the Engliſh ſpied the Dutch fleet about N. E. two leagues off; the admiral bore up to them, but the enemy having the wind of him, he could not reach them; however, he commanded his light frigates to ply as near as they could, and keep firing, while the reſt bore up after them; upon which the Dutch hoiſted their ſails and run for it. The Engliſh being in want of proviſions returned to the Downs. Blake having been obliged to make large detachments from his fleet, Van Trump, who had again the command of the Dutch navy, conſiſting of fourſcore men of war, reſolved to take this opportunity of attacking him in the Downs, knowing that he had not above half his number of ſhips. He accordingly ſailed away to the back of the Godwin. Blake, having intelligence of this, called a council of war, wherein it was reſolved to fight, though to ſo great a diſadvantage. The engagement began on the 29th of November, about two in the morning, and laſted till near ſix in the evening. Blake was on board the Triumph; this ſhip, the Victory, and the Vanguard, ſuffered moſt, having been engaged, at one time, with twenty of the enemy's beſt ſhips. The admiral finding his ſhip much diſabled, and that the Dutch had the advantage of the wind, drew off his fleet in the night into the river Thames, having loſt the Garland and Bonaventure, which were taken by the Dutch; a ſmall frigate was alſo burnt, and three ſunk, and his remaining ſhips much ſhattered and diſabled. Trump, however, bought this victory dear; one of his flag-ſhips was blown up, all the men drowned, and his own ſhip and De Ruyter's were both unfit for ſervice till they were repaired. This ſucceſs puffed up the Dutch exceedingly; Van Trump ſailed through the channel with a broom at his main-top maſt, to ſignify that he had ſwept the ſeas of Engliſh ſhips. In the mean time, Blake having repaired his fleet, and Monk and Deane being now joined in commiſſion with him, on the 8th of February 1653, ſailed from Queenſborough with 60 men of war, which

which were ſoon after joined with 20 more from Portſmouth. On the eighteenth of this month they diſcovered Van Trump with 70 men of war, and three hundred merchant-ſhips under his convoy. Blake, with 12 ſhips, came up with and engaged the Dutch fleet: he was on board the Triumph, which had like to have been loſt, having received no leſs than 700 ſhot in her hull, if ſhe had not been timely relieved by Lawſon in the Fairfax. The admiral, though grievouſly wounded in the thigh, continued the fight till night, when the Dutch, who had ſix men of war ſunk and taken, retired. Blake, after having put on ſhore his wounded men at Porſmouth, followed the enemy, whom he came up with the next day, about three in the afternoon, when the fight was renewed greatly to the loſs of the Dutch, who continued retreating towards Boulogne. All the night following Blake continued the purſuit, and in the morning of the 20th of February the two fleets fought again till four in the afternoon, when the wind blowing favourably for the Dutch, they ſecured themſelves on the flats of Dunkirk and Calais. In theſe three engagements the Dutch loſt eleven men of war, 30 merchant-ſhips, and had 1500 men ſlain. The Engliſh loſt only one ſhip, the Samſon, but not fewer men than the enemy.

In the month of April, Cromwell tyrannically diſſolved the parliament, and ſhortly after aſſumed the ſupreme power. The ſtates-general expected great advantages from this, but were diſappointed. Blake ſaid on this occaſion to his officers, "It is not for us to mind ſtate-affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us." Towards the end of the month, Blake and his colleagues, with a fleet of a hundred ſail, ſtood over for the Dutch coaſt, and forced their fleet to take ſhelter in the Texel, where, for ſome time, they were kept by Monk and Deane, while Blake ſailed northward; at laſt Trump got out, and drew together a fleet of a hundred and twenty men of war.

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On the 3d of June, Deane and Monk engaged him off the north-foreland. On the 4th Blake came to their aſſiſtance with eighteen freſh ſhips, by which means a complete victory was gained; and if the Dutch had not again ſaved themſelves on Calais ſands, their whole fleet had been ſunk or taken. Cromwell having called the parliament, ſtyled the Little Parliament, Blake, on the 10th of October, took his ſeat in the houſe, where he received their ſolemn thanks for his many and faithful ſervices. The protector afterwards called a new parliament, conſiſting of four hundred members, in which admiral Blake repreſented his native town of Bridgewater. On the 6th of December, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners of the admiralty.

In the month of November 1654, Cromwell ſent him, with a ſtrong fleet, into the Mediterranean, with inſtructions to ſupport the honour of the Engliſh flag, and to procure ſatisfaction for any injuries that might have been done to our merchants. In the beginning of December, Blake came into the road of Cadiz, where he was treated with great reſpect; inſomuch that a Dutch admiral would not hoiſt his flag while he was there; and one of the victuallers attending his fleet, being ſeparated from the reſt, fell in with a French admiral commanding ſeven men of war, near the mouth of the Streights; who ordered the captain of the victualling-ſloop on board his own ſhip, which created ſome ſuſpicion of the admiral's intentions; but they were ſoon removed, by his kind inquiries after Blake, whoſe health he drank with a ſalute of five guns, and then diſmiſſed the Engliſh captain, wiſhing him a proſperous voyage. As to the Algerines, they ſtood in ſo much awe of him, that they uſed to ſtop and ſearch the Sallee-rovers, and if they found any Engliſh priſoners on board, they ſent them to Blake, in hopes thereby of obtaining his favour; but this did not prevent him from forcing the dey of Algiers to ſue for peace, and to grant ſatisfaction for the piracies committed on the effects of Bri-

tiſh ſubjects; this ſervice he accompliſhed in the beginning of March 1655; and from Algiers he proceeded with his fleet to Tunis on the ſame errand. The dey of Tunis ſent him a haughty anſwer. "Here (ſaid he) are your caſtles of Galetta and Porto Ferino, do your worſt: do you think we fear your fleet?" On hearing this, Blake, as uſual, when he was angry, began to curl his whiſkers, and, after a ſhort conſultation with his officers, bore into the bay of Porto Ferino, with his great ſhips, and coming within muſket-ſhot of the caſtle, fired on it ſo briſkly, that in two hours it was rendered defenceleſs, and the guns on the works along the ſhore were diſmounted, though ſixty of them played at a time on the Engliſh. He found nine ſhips in the road, and ordered every captain, even of his own ſhip, to man his long-boat with choice men, and theſe to enter the harbour, and fire the Tuniſeens, while he and his fleet covered them from the caſtle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The ſeamen in their boats boldly aſſaulted the pirates, and burnt all their ſhips, with the loſs of twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded.

This daring action ſpread the terror of his name through Africa and Aſia, which had for a long time before been formidable in Europe. He alſo ſtruck ſuch terror in the piratical ſtate of Tripoly, that he made them glad to ſue for peace with England. Theſe and other exploits raiſed the glory of the Engliſh name ſo high, that moſt of the princes and ſtates in Italy thought fit to pay their compliments to the protector, particularly the grand duke of Tuſcany, and the republic of Venice, who ſent magnificent embaſſies for that purpoſe. War in the mean time having been declared againſt Spain, Blake uſed his utmoſt efforts to ruin their maritime force in Europe, as Penn had done in the Weſt Indies. But finding himſelf now in a declining ſtate of health, and fearing the ill conſequences which might enſue, in caſe he ſhould die without any

colleague

colleague to take charge of the fleet, he wrote letters to England, deſiring ſome proper perſon to be named in commiſſion with him; upon which general Montague was ſent joint admiral with a ſtrong ſquadron to aſſiſt him. Soon after his arrival in the Mediterranean, the two admirals ſailed with their whole fleet to block up a Spaniſh ſquadron in the bay of Cadiz. At length, in September, being in great want of water, Blake and Montague ſtood away for the coaſt of Portugal, leaving captain Stayner, with ſeven ſhips, to look after the enemy. Soon after they were gone, the Spaniſh plate fleet appeared, but were intercepted by Stayner, who took the vice-admiral, and another galleon, which were afterwards burnt by accident, the rear admiral with two million of plate on board, and another ſhip richly laden.

Theſe prizes, together with all the priſoners, were ſent to England, under general Montague, and Blake alone remained in the Mediterranean, till being informed that another plate fleet had put into Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriff, in the month of April 1657, he ſailed thither with a fleet of twenty-five men of war. On the twentieth, he came into the road of Santa Cruz, where they diſcovered how bravely the Spaniſh ſhips, ſixteen in number, were barricaded in this bay, where they lay in a manner ſemicircular. Near in the mouth of this haven ſtands a caſtle, ſufficiently furniſhed with great ordnance, which threatened deſtruction to any one that durſt enter without its leave into the harbour; beſides this, there ſtood ſeven forts more round about the bay, with ſix, four, and three guns a-piece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was manned with muſqueteers. To make all ſafe, Don Diego Diagues, general of the Spaniſh fleet, was not idle, in making proviſion for the beſt defence of his armado. He cauſed all the ſmaller ſhips to be moored cloſe along the ſhore, and the ſix great galleons ſtood farther out

at anchor, with their broadſides towards the ſea. It happened at this time there was a Dutch merchant-ſhip in the bay, the maſter thereof ſeeing the Engliſh ready to enter, and that a combat would preſently be commenced, it made him fear, that among all the blows that would be given he could not avoid ſome miſchief; therefore, to ſave himſelf, he went to Don Diego, and deſired his leave to depart the harbour; for, ſaid he, "I am very ſure Blake will preſently be among you." The reſolute Don made no other reply but, "Get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares." They that knew Blake's courage, could not but know it needleſs to dare him to an engagement. All things being ordered for the fight, a ſquadron of ſhips was drawn out of the whole fleet to make the firſt onſet; theſe were commanded by captain Stayner in the Speaker frigate, who no ſooner had received orders, but immediately he flew into the bay with his canvas wings, and by eight in the morning fell pell-mell upon the Spaniſh fleet, without the leaſt regard to the forts, that ſpent their ſhot prodigally upon him. No ſooner were theſe entered into the bay, but Blake following after, placed certain ſhips to pour broadſides into the caſtle and forts. Theſe played their parts ſo well, that, after ſome time, the Spaniards found their forts too hot to be held. In the mean time, Blake ſtrikes in with Stayner, and bravely fought the Spaniſh ſhips, which were not much inferior in number to the Engliſh, but in men were far ſuperior. Here we ſee a reſolute bravery many times may carry the day, and make numbers lie by: this was manifeſt; for, by two of the clock in the afternoon, the Engliſh had beaten the enemies out of their ſhips. Now Blake ſeeing an impoſſibility of carrying them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes; which was done ſo effectually, that all the Spaniſh fleet were reduced to aſhes, except two ſhips that ſunk downright, nothing remaining of them above water, but ſome part of their maſts. The Engliſh having

having now got a complete victory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, which blew ſo ſtrong into the bay, that many deſpaired of getting out of it again. But God's Providence was miraculouſly ſeen in cauſing the wind on a ſudden to veer about to the ſouth-weſt (a thing not known in many years before), which brought Blake and his fleet ſafe to ſea again, notwithſtanding the Spaniards from the caſtle played their great guns perpetually upon him as they paſſed by. The wind, as it proved a friend to bring the Engliſh forth, ſo it continued to carry them back to their former ſtation near Cadiz. Blake returned after this glorious action to the coaſts of Spain, where he cruized for ſome time off the harbour of Cadiz; but perceiving that his ſhips were become foul, and being ſeized with a dangerous diſorder, he reſolved to ſail for England. His diſtemper was a complication of dropſy and ſcurvy, brought upon him by being three years together at ſea, and wanting, all that time, the conveniencies requiſite for the cure of his diſeaſe. In his paſſage home, it increaſed upon him, and he became ſo ſenſible of his approaching end, that he frequently inquired for land, a mark of his affection for his native ſoil, which, however, he did not live to ſee; dying, as his ſhip, the St. George, entered Plymouth-ſound, on the 17th of Auguſt 1657, at about 59 years of age. His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped in lead, his bowels taken out, and buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corpſe, by order of the protector, conveyed by water to Greenwich-houſe; from whence he reſolved to have it carried in great pomp to Weſtminſter-abbey, and there interred with the utmoſt ſolemnity, as the laſt mark of reſpect that could be payed to this heroic commander.

On the 4th of September, after the corpſe had lain ſeveral days in ſtate, it was carried from Greenwich in a magnificent barge, covered with velvet, adorned with eſcutcheons and pendants, accompanied by his brothers, remoter relations, and their ſervants, in mourning; by

Oliver's privy council, the commiſſioners of the admiralty and navy, and the lord-mayor and aldermen of London; the field-officers of the army, and many other perſons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries, covered with mourning, marſhalled and ordered by the heralds at arms, who directed and attended the ſolemnity. Thus they paſſed to Weſtminſter-bridge, and, at their landing, proceeded in the ſame manner, through a guard of ſeveral regiments of foot, to the abbey. His dear friend, general Lambert, though then in diſgrace with the protector, attended on horſeback. The funeral proceſſion being over, the body was interred in a vault built on purpoſe in the chapel of Henry VII.

Such were the honours paid to the remains of Blake, in the days of Cromwell; but after the reſtoration of king Charles II. his body, in virtue of his majeſty's expreſs command, was taken up and buried in a pit, with others, in St. Margaret's Church-yard, on the 12th of September 1661; "in which place (ſays Wood), it now remaineth, enjoying no other monument but what is reared by his valour, which time itſelf can hardly efface."

The earl of Clarendon ſays: "Blake was the firſt man that declined the old tract, and made it manifeſt that the ſcience might be attained in leſs time than was imagined; and deſpiſed thoſe rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ſhip and men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumſpection; as if the principal art requiſite in the captain of a ſhip had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt man who brought ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of courage into the ſeamen, by making them ſee by experience what mighty things they could do, if they were

were reſolved, and taught them to fight in fire, as well as upon water; and though he had been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and reſolute atchievements."

*** *Authorities.* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Lediard's Naval Hiſtory.

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE MONK,

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

[A. D. 1608, to 1667.]

GEORGE MONK, memorable for being the chief inſtrument of the reſtoration of Charles II, was deſcended from an ancient family, ſettled ſo early as the reign of Henry III. at Potheridge, in Devonſhire, at which place he was born in the year 1608. He was likewiſe educated there by his grandfather and godfather Sir George Smith, with whom he chiefly reſided.

He was a younger ſon, and no proviſion being expected for him from his father Sir Thomas Monk, whoſe fortune had been reduced, he dedicated himſelf to arms from his youth, and before he was quite ſeventeen years of age entered himſelf as a volunteer under his kinſman Sir Richard Greenville, then lying at Plymouth, and juſt ſetting out under lord Wimbledon on the ill-concerted, and worſe executed, expedition againſt Spain in the year 1625.

The ill ſucceſs which attended our young volunteer's firſt eſſay neither damped his courage, nor changed his martial inclination; for the very next year he obtained

a pair of colours under Sir John Burroughs, in the expedition to the iſle of Rhee. From hence he returned at the end of the war in 1628; and the following year, being juſt then of age, he ſerved as an enſign in the Low Countries, firſt under lord Oxford, and then under lord Goring, by whom he was promoted to the rank of captain of his own company. In this ſtation he was concerned in ſeveral ſieges and battles; and, having, in ten years ſervice, by a ſteady and cloſe application to the duties of his profeſſion, made himſelf an abſolute maſter of the military art, and become extremely uſeful to the ſervice, he retired on a diſguſt given him by the prince of Orange, and returned to his native country juſt on the breaking out of the firſt war between king Charles I. and his Scottiſh ſubjects.

The captain's reputation, backed by the powerful recommendations of the earl of Leiceſter, and lady Carliſle procured him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regiment belonging to lord Newport; in which poſt he ſerved in the king's northern expeditions.

The treaty commenced at Rippon; and the ſummoning a parliament had ſcarcely put an end to the Scotch war, when the Iriſh rebellion broke out; and the earl of Leiceſter, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, having raiſed him to the rank of colonel, he went over to that kingdom, where he was ſo inſtrumental in quelling the rebellion, that the lord-juſtices appointed him governor of Dublin; but the parliament interfering, that authority was veſted in another; and, ſoon after, the colonel returned to England with his regiment, along with the reſt of the forces ſent home by the marquis of Ormond, on his ſigning a truce with the Iriſh rebels, in 1643; but, on the colonel's arrival at Briſtol, he was ſtopped by orders ſent both from Ireland, and from the court at Oxford, directing lord Hawley, governor of Briſtol, to ſecure him till farther orders, on a ſuſpicion of his having a deſign to join the parliament-forces, under the earl of Leiceſter, his general. But

Hawley

Hawley, convinced of his innocence, ſuffered him to proceed to Oxford on his parole; where he ſo fully juſtified himſelf to lord Digby, the then ſecretary of ſtate, that he was by that nobleman introduced to his majeſty; but his regiment was given to colonel Warren, who had been his major.

In order to indemnify him for this removal, the king raiſed him to the rank of major-general in the Iriſh brigade, then commanded by lord Byron, and employed in the ſiege of Nantwich, in Cheſhire; to which ſtation major-general Monk ſpeedily repaired, but arrived only time enough to ſhare in the ſurpriſal of the whole brigade by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who brought a conſiderable body of the parliament's forces to the relief of that place; from which place, Monk was ſent to Hull amongſt the other priſoners, and was, in a ſhort time after, conveyed to the Tower of London, where he remained in cloſe confinement till November 1646; when, at the ſolicitation of his kinſman, lord Liſle, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Leiceſter, who, on the marquis of Ormond's declaring for the king, was made deputy of that kingdom, he took the covenant, engaged with the parliament, and agreed to accept a command under him in the Iriſh ſervice, as the only means to be enlarged from his tedious confinement.

Lord Liſle and the colonel embarked for Ireland in the beginning of the year 1647; but the marquis of Ormond, refuſing obedience to the orders of the parliament, would not deliver up the city of Dublin to their deputy without the king's command, therefore lord Liſle and his forces were obliged to ſteer for Cork, near which they landed: but not being able to perform any ſignal ſervice, and his lordſhip's commiſſion expiring in April, they returned to England; and ſoon after, Monk had the command in chief of all the parliament's forces in the north of Ireland conferred upon him, together with the regiment late colonel Brocket's; whereupon

he

he returned for the third time to Ireland, and landed at Belfaſt.

The Scots under the command of major-general Monro refuſing to join the Engliſh in the ſervice of the parliament, general Monk was prevented from entering into action ſo ſoon as he choſe; but being joined by colonel Jones, he made large amends, and diſputed the poſſeſſion of Ulſter very warmly with Owen Roe O'Neal, obliging him to raiſe the ſiege of Londonderry; and by ſecuring the command of forage, and laying waſte the country, almoſt famiſhed his army. He likewiſe managed ſo well the tilling and improving thoſe parts in his poſſeſſion, and was ſo provident in diſpoſing the booties from time to time brought in by his parties, that he made the Iriſh war nearly maintain itſelf. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe ſmall ſucceſſes, the ſuperiority of the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchequin, at the head of the royaliſts, and the inconquerable diſtruſt of the Scots, to whom moſt of his garriſon of Dundalk revolted on their approach to that place, reduced him to the neceſſity of entering into a treaty with that bold Iriſh leader; who deceiving him, he was obliged to ſurrender Dundalk to lord Inchequin, and return to England; where he was called to an account by the parliament for having treated with the Iriſh rebels; an affront he never forgave.

He was, perhaps, the more offended with this treatment, as he was not employed in the reduction of Ireland under Oliver Cromwell, who, all accounts agree, received conſiderable advantage from this very treaty made between O'Neal and Monk.

During this inactivity, his elder brother dying without iſſue male, the family eſtate, by entail, devolved upon him, and he recovered it from the ruinous condition in which his father and brother had left it

He had ſcarcely ſettled his private affairs when he was called upon to ſerve againſt the Scots, under Oliver Cromwell, by whom he was made lieutenant-general

ral of the artillery, and had a regiment given him, compoſed of ſix companies taken out of Fenwick's, and ſix out of Haſlerig's. In this poſt he was extremely ſerviceable to Cromwell, particularly at the famous battle of Dunbar.

After this victory, the lieutenant-general was employed in diſperſing a body of irregulars known by the name of Moſs-troopers; and in reducing Darlington, Roſwell, Brothwick, and Tantallon caſtles, where they uſed to harbour. He was alſo concerned in ſettling the articles for the ſurrender of Edinburgh caſtle; and, being left commander in chief in Scotland, at the head of ſix thouſand men, by Cromwell, when he returned to England in purſuit of Charles II. he beſieged and took Stirling, and carried Dundee by ſtorm; where he behaved with great cruelty, putting Lunſdale, the governor, and eight hundred men, to the ſword.

Soon after this, St. Andrew's and Aberdeen alſo ſubmitted to him; but being ſeized with a violent fit of illneſs, he was obliged, in 1652, to go to Bath for his recovery. Upon his recovery, he ſet out again for Scotland, as one of the commiſſioners for uniting that kingdom with the new-erected Engliſh commonwealth; which having brought to a ſucceſsful concluſion, he returned to London.

The Dutch war having now been carried on for ſome months, lieutenant-general Monk, on the death of colonel Popham, was joined with the admirals Blake and Deane in the command at ſea; and by his courage and conduct he contributed greatly to the defeat given to the Dutch fleet on the 2d of June 1653, and likewiſe to the victory obtained on the 31ſt of July following.

Oliver Cromwell, being declared protector the ſame year, concluded a peace with the Dutch, who obtaining more favourable terms from him than the council of ſtate and the parliament had appeared willing to grant, general Monk, who lay with his fleet on the Dutch coaſt, remonſtrated ſo warmly againſt this peace,

peace, and thoſe remonſtrances were ſo well received by the Little, or Barebones's Parliament, and Monk, on his return, was treated ſo kindly by them, that Oliver grew jealous of him, and cloſeted him, to find whether he was inclined to any other intereſt; but, on receiving ſatisfaction from the general on this head, he not only took him into favour, but, on the breaking-out of freſh troubles in the north of Scotland, where the marquis of Atholl, the earl of Glencairne, major-general Middleton, and ſeveral more of the nobility and others, had raiſed forces on the behalf of king Charles II. he ſent him thither commander in chief, in April 1654.

Arriving at Leith, he ſent colonel Morgan with a large detachment againſt the royaliſts; and, having aſſiſted in proclaiming the protector at Edinburgh, he followed himſelf with the reſt of the forces. Through the general's prudent management, this war was finiſhed by Auguſt, when he returned from the Highlands, and fixed his abode at Dalkeith, a ſeat belonging to the counteſs of Buccleugh, within four or five miles of Edinburgh; where he conſtantly reſided during the time, which was five years, that he ſtaid in Scotland; amuſing himſelf with the pleaſures of a rural life, and being beloved by the people, though his government was more abſolute than any they had before experienced. He exerciſed this authority not only as commander-in-chief, but as one of the protector's council of ſtate for Scotland; and the other members paid ſuch implicit obedience to his orders, on account of his great popularity, that Cromwell often entertained ſuſpicions of him.

Nor was this diſtruſt entirely groundleſs. For it is certain that the king entertained good hopes of him, and to that purpoſe wrote to him the following letter, dated from Colen, Auguſt 12. 1655:

"One, who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well, aſſures me, that, notwithſtanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain ſtill your old

old affection to me, and reſolve to expreſs it upon the firſt ſeaſonable opportunity, which is as much as I look for from you. We muſt all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered ſooner than we expect: when it is, let it find you ready; and in the mean time have a care to keep yourſelf out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture, and can never ſuſpect your affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards

Yours, &c.

CHARLES, REX."

However, the general made no ſcruple of diſcovering every ſtep taken by the cavaliers which came to his knowledge, even to the ſending the protector this letter, and joined in promoting addreſſes to him from the army in Scotland. In 1657 he received a ſummons to Oliver's houſe of lords. About this time George, his ſecond ſon, died in his infancy, which was a great affliction to him, being doatingly fond of him. From this period to the death of Oliver, the general maintained Scotland in ſubjection, and lived free from all diſturbance, not intermeddling farther with the politics of thoſe times, than to put what orders he received from England punctually into execution; in purſuance of which plan he proclaimed Richard Cromwell protector after his father's death, Richard having diſpatched Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Clarges agent to the Scotch and Iriſh forces, whoſe ſiſter the general had ſome time before owned for his wife, with letters to him; to which he returned a ſuitable and reſpectful anſwer, aiming only at ſecuring his own command; at the ſame time joining with the reſt of the officers of the army under his command in an addreſs to the new protector, whoſe power he might eaſily foreſee would have but a ſhort date, it having been his opinion that Oliver, had he lived much longer, would ſcarcely have been able to preſerve himſelf in his ſtation. And in-

deed Cromwell began to be apprehenſive of that great alteration which happened in the government, and fearful that the general was deeply engaged in thoſe meaſures which procured it, if we may judge from a letter written by him to general Monk but a little before his death, to which was added the following remarkable poſtſcript:

"There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is ſaid to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray you to uſe your diligence to apprehend him, and ſend him to me."

However, as Clarges had informed him, by Richard's order, that his late father had expreſsly charged him to do nothing without his advice, the general recommended to him to encourage a learned, pious, moderate miniſtry in the church; to permit no councils of officers, a liberty they had too often abuſed; to call a parliament; and to endeavour to be maſter of the army.

Richard Cromwell was acknowledged by all orders of men in the three kingdoms: he received above ninety addreſſes from the counties and conſiderable corporations of England; and the foreign miniſters vied with each other in compliments, congratulating him upon his ſucceſſion: but this conduct was only deceitful policy, to give time for the different parties in the kingdom to form their own plans. Richard Cromwell was a man of a different complexion from his father, and would rather have loſt ten kingdoms, than have maintained one by the ſword. The army, long accuſtomed to a ſhare in the government, dreaded a diminution of their power under ſuch a governor; the republicans thought it a proper criſis to ſhake off the yoke of the protectorſhip, which they had found to be as oppreſſive as the royal authority. And a third party, equally deteſting the protectorſhip, the army, and the republican form of government, wiſhed for the reſtoration of Charles II. With theſe jarring intereſts at work in ſecret,

cret, it is no wonder that Richard's firſt national aſſembly, conſiſting of a lower and upper houſe, fell out on the ſubjects of ſuperiority and privilege, or that they attempted to leſſen the power of the army; by which they brought on their own diſſolution. The council of officers aſſumed the ſupreme authority in May 1659, after they had forced Richard to diſſolve the parliament; they reſtored the remnants of the Long Parliament; declared their intention of governing without a ſingle perſon, kingſhip, or houſe of peers; and then appointed a committee of ſafety, who ordered all writs and patents to run, as at the firſt eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth, in the names of the keepers of the liberties of the three nations. Richard, who ſaw his uncle Deſborough and his brother Fleetwood engaged in this plan of government, quietly reſigned his authority to the Rump Parliament, gave in a liſt of his debts, and deſired to live privately in dutiful obedience to the commonwealth. After the Reſtoration he went abroad, but returned when the ſpirit of party-reſentment ſubſided, and lived in England obſcurely to a great old age, not dying till towards the latter end of queen Anne's reign.

The general receiving advice of theſe tranſactions, and of the depoſition of Richard, readily abandoned him he had ſo lately proclaimed; and his brother-in-law being again ſent to him from the Rump Parliament, on their reſtoration, he acquieſced in all they had done, as the ſureſt way to preſerve his own command, only recommending Richard to their favour; and, with his officers, he ſigned the engagement againſt Charles Stuart, or any other ſingle perſon, being admitted to the government. But when their committee, conſiſting of ten perſons, began, on the informations of Peirſon and Maſon, two republican colonels in his army, to make conſiderable alterations therein, by caſhiering of thoſe officers in whom he moſt confided, of which his brother-in-law, Clarges, gave him information, he wrote a

letter to the houſe, complaining of this treatment in ſo warm a ſtyle, at the ſame time engaging for the fidelity of his officers, that they ordered their committee not to proceed further therein till the general himſelf was conſulted.

In the mean time, Monk continued to make the ſtrongeſt declarations of his attachment to the republican cauſe. In a letter to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons from Edinburgh, dated October 20. 1659, he aſſured him, "that he was reſolved, by the grace and "aſſiſtance of God, as a true Engliſhman, to ſtand to and "aſſert the liberty and authority of parliament." He added, "I do call God to witneſs, that the aſſerting "of a commonwealth is the only intent of my heart; "and I deſire, if poſſible, to avoid the ſhedding of "blood; and deſire and intreat you that there may be "a good underſtanding between parliament and army: "but, if they will not obey your commands, I will not "deſert you, according to my duty and promiſe."— And, in a letter of the ſame date to Fleetwood, he "takes God to witneſs, that he had no farther ends "than the eſtabliſhing of parliamentary authority, and "thoſe good laws that our anceſtors have purchaſed "with ſo much blood, the ſettling the nations in a free "commonwealth, and the defence of godlineſs, and "godly men, though of different judgments."

In a diſcourſe which was afterwards read by his direction at Whitehall, on the 21ſt of February 1659-60, to the members who had been ſecluded from parliament, but were then permitted by his means to take their ſeats, Monk expreſſed himſelf very ſtrongly in behalf of a commonwealth-government. "I thought (ſays he) to aſſure you, and that in the preſence of "God, that I have nothing before my eyes but God's "glory, and the ſettlement of theſe nations upon com-"monwealth foundations. In purſuit whereof I ſhall "think nothing too dear; and, for my own particular, "I ſhall throw myſelf down at your feet, to be any "thing

" thing or nothing, in order to theſe great ends. As to " the way of future ſettlement, far be it from me to " impoſe any thing: I deſire you may be in perfect " freedom. Only give me leave to mind you, that the " old foundations are, by God's providence, ſo broken, " that, in the eye of reaſon, they cannot be reſtored, " but upon the ruin of the people of theſe nations, that " have engaged for their rights in the defence of the " parliament, and the great and main ends of the cove- " nant, for uniting and making the Lord's name one in " the three nations; and alſo the liberty of the people's " repreſentatives in parliament will be certainly loſt. " For if the people find, that, after ſo long and bloody " a war againſt the king for breaking in upon their li- " berties, yet, at laſt, he muſt be taken in again, it will " be out of queſtion, and is moſt manifeſt, he may for " the future govern by his will, diſpoſe of parliaments, " and parliament-men, as he pleaſeth, and yet the " people will never more riſe for their aſſiſtance. As " for the intereſts of this famous city (which hath been " in all ages the bulwark of parliaments, and unto " whom I am, for their great affection, ſo deeply en- " gaged), certainly it muſt lie in a commonwealth, " that government only being capable to make them " (through the Lord's bleſſing) the metropolis and " bank of trade for all Chriſtendom, whereunto God " and nature hath fitted them, above all others."

But notwithſtanding theſe declarations, Monk was not only a principal inſtrument in the reſtoration of Charles II. but alſo of reſtoring him without any conditions. " Thus (ſays Dr. Harris), was an exiled " prince, by the diſſimulation, treachery, and falſehood " of Monk, admitted to the government of three flou- " riſhing and renowned kingdoms, without conditions, " contrary to the ſenſe and expectations of the moſt in- " telligent perſons of all parties. For who could have " imagined, that a people, who had ſo long and ſucceſs- " fully ſtruggled for their liberties would, in one hour,

" without ſtriking a blow, ſubmit to the vanquiſhed, " and tamely yield to the yoke of thoſe whom they " knew to be their determined foes! Who could have " thought that an Engliſh parliament, a name which " lately, very lately, obtained ſo much renown, ſhould, " by a ſingle vote, deliver up themſelves, and all that " was dear to them, into the hands of one from whom " they had reaſon to expect not over-kind treatment! " But patriotiſm no longer actuated the breaſts of the " Engliſh ſenators; every thing was unminded but per- " ſonal ſafety, perſonal honours, or rewards, which " were judged beſt obtained by thus making early " court to the king in a matter moſt acceptable to " him."

On the eighth of May 1660, general Monk aſſiſted at the proclamation of king Charles II. and, having received advice by Sir Thomas Clarges, that his majeſty intended to land at Dover on the twenty-eighth, the general ſet out for that place, being the ſame day the king embarked for Holland; and, lying at Rocheſter that night, arrived the next day at Dover, where the king landed on the twenty-fifth.

The interview between the king and the general was full of expreſſions of duty on one ſide, and favour and eſteem on the other; the king permitting the general to ride in his coach two miles out of the town; when his majeſty took horſe, and, with general Monk on his left hand, and his two brothers on his right, proceeded to Canterbury, where he conferred the order of the garter on general Monk, the dukes of York and Glouceſter inveſting him with the badges of that dignity.

From Canterbury the king removed to Rocheſter, where he lay on Monday the twenty-eight; and the next morning, being his birth-day, ſet out for Blackheath to review the army which the general had cauſed to be drawn up there; and from thence proceeded to London, into which he made his public entry with much magnificence on the 29th of May 1660.

General

General Monk was now ſworn one of the privy-council, made maſter of the horſe, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber; had apartments in the Cock-pit, and was in a little time made firſt lord-commiſſioner of the treaſury; and, in about a month afterwards, was created a peer, by the titles of baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees, earl of Torrington, and duke of Albemarle; with a grant of ſeven thouſand pounds a-year, eſtate of inheritance, beſides other penſions; and he received a very peculiar acknowledgment of regard on being thus called to the peerage, almoſt the whole houſe of commons attending him to the very door of the houſe of lords: and we are told, that Sir Edward Nicholas ſaid, "that the induſtry and ſervice which the duke of Albemarle had paid to the crown ſince the king's reſtoration, without reflecting upon his ſervice before, deſerved all the favour and bounty which his majeſty had been pleaſed to confer upon him."

In October, the duke was made one of the commiſſioners for trying the regicides, and acted accordingly under it, but obſerved great moderation. Soon after his grace was made lord-lieutenant of the counties of Devonſhire and Middleſex; and the parliament voting the diſbanding of the army, the duke joined very heartily with lord-chancellor Hyde in promoting that ſtep; and took great pains, by changing of officers, to bring it to be ſubmitted to quietly, in which he ſucceeded; all but his own regiment of foot, and a new-raiſed regiment of horſe for the king's guard, being paid off and diſmiſſed.

In January 1661, while the king was accompanying his mother and ſiſter on their return to France, the duke was employed at London in quelling an inſurrection made by ſome fifth-monarchy men, under one Venner, a wine-cooper; who were with ſome difficulty reduced by the duke of Albemarle's regiment after repulſing ſome detachments of the city militia, and the new-

new-raiſed horſe. This gave riſe to a propoſal for keeping up ſtanding forces: but the duke was againſt it, ſaying, "That his endeavouring to continue any part of the army would be liable to ſo much miſinterpretation, that he would by no means appear in it."

At the coronation in April 1661, the duke carried the ſceptre and dove, and was one of the ſupporters of the canopy of ſtate; after which he and the duke of Buckingham did homage for themſelves and the reſt of their degree.

In the latter part of this year he was attacked with a dangerous illneſs, from which he was recovered by the king's phyſician, Sir Robert Fraſer. After this, every thing being in full peace, he enjoyed himſelf for ſome time in retirement, till, on the breaking-out of the firſt Dutch war, under Charles II. in 1664, he was, by his royal highneſs the duke of York, who commanded the fleet, intruſted with the care of the Admiralty, receiving at the ſame time a very obliging letter from his royal highneſs.

The plague broke out in London the ſame year; and the king removing from thence to Oxford, the duke of Albemarle's vigilance and activity made his majeſty regard him as the fitteſt nobleman to intruſt with the care of his capital city in that time of imminent danger and diſtreſs; which additional burthen he cheerfully underwent, and was greatly aſſiſted therein by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Craven. About Michaelmas, the king ſent for him to Oxford, whether he went poſt, and, on his arrival, found his majeſty had appointed prince Rupert and himſelf joint-admirals for the enſuing year; which dangerous poſt, though many of his friends diſſuaded him from, he readily accepted, and immediately ſet himſelf diligently about his new employment; wherein all the care of finiſhing new ſhips which were on the ſtocks, repairing the old ones which had been much damaged in an action with the Dutch that ſummer, the victualling and manning the whole

whole fleet, fell chiefly to his lot, and was ſo effectually and expeditiouſly purſued by him, the ſeamen offering in crowds for the ſervice, becauſe they ſaid they were ſure that honeſt George, as they commonly called him, would ſee them well fed and juſtly paid, that on the twenty-third of April 1666, the prince and he took their leaves of the king, and repaired on board the fleet, where the former hoiſted his flag, having Sir George Ayſcough under him, as admiral of the white, on board the Royal James; and the latter, as admiral of the red, on board the Royal Charles.

On the 25th and 26th of July, they engaged the Dutch fleet, and gained a complete victory, deſtroying above twenty of their men of war, and driving the reſt into their harbours. The Dutch loſt four admirals in this engagement, and 4000 inferior officers and ſeamen. The Engliſh fleet returned to St. Helen's the latter end of Auguſt, and lay there for farther orders.

During that interval broke out the terrible fire in London; which beginning on the ſecond of September 1666, burned with unparalleled fury for three days, and laid the greateſt part of the city in aſhes. This unexpected accident immediately occaſioned the duke of Albemarle to be recalled from the fleet, to aſſiſt in quieting the minds of the people, who expreſſed their affection and eſteem for him, by crying out publicly, as he paſſed through the ruined ſtreets, "That, if his grace had been there, the city had not been burnt."

The earl of Southampton dying on the ſixteenth of May 1667, his majeſty after the peace put the treaſury in commiſſion, at the head of which was again placed his grace the duke of Albemarle. This was the laſt teſtimony of the royal favour he received; for, being now in the ſixtieth year of his age, the many hardſhips and fatigues he had undergone in a military life began to ſhake his conſtitution, hitherto remarkably healthy, he being about this time attacked with a dropſy, the firſt ſymptoms of which were too much neglected.

In

In this declining condition he withdrew from public buſineſs, as much as his poſt and the ſtate of affairs would permit, and retired to his ſeat at New-hall in the county of Eſſex; where he was prevailed upon, by the importunity of his friends, to try a pill then in vogue, being a preparation of one Dr. Sermon, of Briſtol, who had formerly ſerved under his grace as a common ſoldier; from which he at firſt received ſuch conſiderable relief, that, towards the latter end of the year, he returned to town: but ſoon after falling into a relapſe, with the addition of an aſthmatic complaint, he ſet about finiſhing his laſt great temporal concern, the marriage of his only ſon with the lady Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter to Henry, earl of Ogle, only ſon to Charles, the then duke of Newcaſtle; which being ſettled, the nuptial ceremony was performed, in his own chamber, on the thirtieth of December 1669; and on the third of January, four days after, he died, ſitting in his chair, with ſcarcely a groan.

*** *Authorities.* Hume's Hiſt. of England. Gen. Biog. Dictionary. Harris's Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Life of Charles II.

THE LIFE OF

EDWARD MONTAGUE,

EARL OF SANDWICH.

[A. D. 1625, to 1672.]

THIS gallant naval officer was the only ſurviving ſon of Sir Sydney Montague, the youngeſt of ſix ſons of Edward lord Montague of Boughton. He was born on the 27th of July 1625; and, having received all the advantages which a liberal education could beſtow, he

he came very early into the world, and into public buſineſs. He married, when he was little more than ſeventeen years of age, the daughter of Mr. Crewe, afterwards lord Crewe of Stene; and being thought more warmly affected to the cauſe of the parliament than his father, Sir Sydney Montague, he received a colonel's commiſſion, in 1643, to raiſe, and command a regiment in the ſervice of the parliament. This colonel Montague, though only eighteen years of age, performed; and the intereſt of his family being very extenſive, he took the field in ſix weeks. He was preſent at the ſtorming at Lincoln, on the 6th of May 1644, which was one of the warmeſt actions during the courſe of the civil war. He was likewiſe in the battle of Marſton-moor, which was fought on the 2d of July, the ſame year, where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf; inſomuch that he ſoon after, when the city of York offered to capitulate, was appointed one of the commiſſioners for ſettling the articles, though he was then only in his nineteenth year.

The following year he was preſent at the battle of Naſeby; and in the month of July 1645, he ſtormed the town of Bridgewater. In September, he commanded a brigade in the ſtorm of Briſtol, where he performed very remarkable ſervice; and on the 10th of September 1645, ſubſcribed the articles of capitulation, granted to prince Rupert, on the delivery of that important place to the parliament. He ſat in the houſe of commons, as knight of the ſhire for Huntingdon, before he was of age; and he had afterwards a ſeat at the board of treaſury under Cromwell. After the Dutch war was over, he was promoted to the rank of an admiral in the navy, and was made choice of by the protector to be joined with admiral Blake in his expedition to the Mediterranean.

Admiral Montague found a variety of difficulties to ſtruggle with at the very entrance upon this ſervice; many of the officers being diſpleaſed with the ſervice

in which they were to be engaged, and not a few inſiſted on laying down their commiſſions. He managed this intricate buſineſs with great prudence and dexterity, ſo as to ſhew a due regard to diſcipline without running into any acts of ſeverity: and this had a very happy effect, ſince, by the time he came to ſail, the fleet was pretty well ſettled, and the officers diſpoſed to act in obedience to orders. In the ſpring of the year 1656, we find him in the Mediterranean, where himſelf, and his colleague Blake, meditated great things. They once thought of attacking the Spaniſh fleet in the harbour of Cadiz; but after attentively conſidering the port, it was reſolved in a council of war, that ſuch an attempt was impracticable. The fleet then ſtood over to the oppoſite ſhore of Barbary, in order to repreſs the inſolence of the Tripoli and Sallee rovers, which was found no very eaſy taſk; and therefore admiral Montague could not forbear intimating his deſire, that we ſhould have ſome good port in Africa, which he believed might anſwer various ends, and eſpecially conduce to the preſervation of our trade in the Levant. The fleet afterwards returned into the road of Cadiz, where they made prize of two Spaniſh galleons. A full account of their ſtrength, and the money on board them, admiral Montague ſent to England, as ſoon as they were taken; and when he afterwards had received directions to convoy the prizes home, he ſent another account of the ſilver on board them, which was to a great amount. When admiral Montague returned to England, he was much careſſed by the protector; and the parliament returned him thanks by their ſpeaker for the ſervices he had done to the ſtate.

In 1657, he was appointed to command a fleet in the Downs. The deſign of this fleet was to watch the Dutch, to carry on the war with Spain, and to facilitate the enterprize of taking Dunkirk; and in all theſe he did as much as could be expected from him. Towards autumn, he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of marſhal

marſhal Turenne, with whom he had a conference, as to the moſt proper method of carrying on the war. All this time he ſeems to have been in the higheſt favour with the protector, and to have had the greateſt intimacy with his family; and yet the admiral had thoughts of retiring from public buſineſs, but for what reaſons cannot now be determined. However, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, in the protectorſhip of his ſon Richard, admiral Montague accepted the command of a large fleet, which was ſent to the north: on board which he embarked in the ſpring of the year 1659; and on the 7th of April, he wrote to the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, and the Dutch admiral, Opdam, to inform them of the motives that had induced the protector to ſend ſo great a fleet into the Baltic; and that his inſtructions were not to reſpect the private advantage of England by making war, but the public tranquillity of Europe, by engaging the powers of the north to enter into an equitable peace.

Before the admiral ſailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very ſtrict inſtructions, which obliged him to act only in conjunction with their commiſſioners, colonel Algernon Sydney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Thomas Boon. And it is ſuppoſed that his diſguſt at this, and at their giving away his regiment of horſe, occaſioned him to leave England in no very warm diſpoſition for their ſervice. However, when he arrived in the Sound, he took his ſhare with other miniſters in the negociation, and made it ſufficiently evident, that his genius was equally capable of ſhining in the cabinet, or commanding at ſea, or on ſhore. But whilſt he was thus employed, king Charles ſent a perſon with two letters, one from himſelf, and another from chancellor Hyde, containing arguments and promiſes calculated to induce admiral Montague to withdraw himſelf from the ſervice of the parliament. What the king now deſired of him was, a ſpeedy return to England, that the fleet might be ready

to act in conjunction with Sir George Booth, and other perſons, who were already diſpoſed to bring about a reſtoration. Theſe letters had ſo much effect upon Montague, that he entered heartily into the ſcheme, and immediately ſet about putting it in execution.

The defection of the admiral from the intereſt of the parliament, could not eſcape the penetration of Algernon Sydney. He ſoon diſcerned ſome change in the conduct of Montague, and purſued his diſcoveries ſo cloſely, that he narrowly miſſed coming at his whole ſecret. The admiral, obſerving his ſuſpicions, called a council of war, wherein he made a ſpeech, by which he prevailed on the reſt of the officers to concur with him in his deſign of returning home. After which he weighed immediately and ſailed for England. But, on his arrival, Montague found things in a very unexpected ſituation: Sir George Booth in the Tower, the parliament in full poſſeſſion of their authority, and a warm charge againſt himſelf come to hand, from colonel Sydney. However, he ſet out for London, and attended the parliament; and gave ſo plauſible an account of his conduct, that though they were diſſatisfied with him, yet not having ſufficient evidence againſt him, they contented themſelves with diſmiſſing him from his command.

After this eſcape, Mr. Montague retired to his own eſtate. But when other and more effectual meaſures were again adopted for reſtoring king Charles, he was replaced in his former poſt in the navy by the influence of general Monk. He then ſent the king a liſt of ſuch officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of ſuch as he apprehended muſt be reduced by force: and he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in bringing about the Reſtoration. He had the honour of convoying king Charles to England; and that prince, two days after his landing at Dover, made him a knight of the garter. Our admiral's ſervices were alſo rewarded ſoon after by the king's creating him baron Montague of St. Neot's

Neot's in the county of Huntingdon, viſcount Hinchinbroke in the ſame county, and earl of Sandwich in Kent. He was likewiſe ſworn a member of the privy-council, made maſter of the king's wardrobe, admiral of the narrow ſeas, and lieutenant-admiral to the duke of York, as lord-high-admiral of England. At the king's coronation his lordſhip carried St. Edward's ſtaff, and was now looked upon as one of the principal miniſters of ſtate, as well as the perſon chiefly intruſted with the care of the fleet. And he conſtantly attended the council, when any tranſactions relating to foreign affairs were under debate.

In September 1660, the earl of Sandwich went with a ſquadron of nine men of war to Helvoetſluys, to bring over the king's ſiſter, the princeſs of Orange; and upon this occaſion he received great honours in Holland. On the 24th of the ſame month, the fleet returned; and his majeſty and the duke of York going on board the admiral's ſhip, named "The Reſolution," lay there that night, and reviewed and examined the ſquadron next morning.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between Charles II. and the infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of 500,000l. the iſland of Bombay, in the Eaſt Indies, and the city of Tangier, in Africa, it became neceſſary to ſend a fleet to bring over the queen, and to ſecure the laſt-mentioned city againſt any attempt from the Moors. For this purpoſe, the earl of Sandwich was again ſent with a numerous fleet, which ſailed on the 19th of June 1661, from the Downs, after having been firſt viſited by the duke of York. His lordſhip afterwards ſailed directly for Tangier, which place was put into the hands of the Engliſh on the 30th of January 1662, when the earl of Peterborough marched into it with an Engliſh garriſon, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portugueſe governor. The admiral then returned to Liſbon, where he received the queen's portion, conſiſting in

money, bills of exchange, &c. and then ſailed with her majeſty for England, and arrived at Spithead on the 14th of May 1662.

When the Dutch war began in 1664, the duke of York took upon him the command of the fleet as high-admiral; and the earl of Sandwich commanded the blue ſquadron; and by his induſtry and care a great number of the enemy's ſhips were taken, and the beſt part of their Bourdeaux fleet. In the great battle, fought on the 3d of June 1665, wherein the Dutch loſt their admiral, Opdam, and had eighteen men of war taken, and fourteen deſtroyed, a large ſhare of the honour of the victory was juſtly given to the courage and conduct of the earl of Sandwich, who, about noon, fell, with the blue ſquadron, into the centre of the enemy's fleet; and thereby began that confuſion which ended ſoon after, in a total defeat of the enemy.

Soon after this, the fleet, after having returned hom to refit, was put under the command of the earl of Sandwich, as the duke of York had now repaired to court. And, on the 4th of September 1665, the earl took eight Dutch men of war, and two of their beſt Eaſt India ſhips, and twenty ſail of their merchantmen. Alſo on the 9th of September, a part of the fleet fell in with eighteen of the Hollanders, the greateſt part of which they took, with four men of war, and above 1000 priſoners.

On his return to England, the earl was received with diſtinguiſhing marks of royal favour; and our affairs in Spain requiring an extraordinary embaſſy, the king diſpatched his lordſhip to the court of Madrid, to mediate a peace between the crowns of Spain and Portugal.—The earl of Sandwich managed this negociation with great ability, and not only concluded a peace between thoſe two nations, to their mutual ſatisfaction, but alſo concluded with the court of Spain, ſays Dr. Campbell, the moſt beneficial treaty of commerce that ever was made for this nation.

On

On the breaking out of the ſecond Dutch war, his lordſhip went to ſea with the duke of York, and commanded the blue ſquadron. The fleet was at ſea the beginning of May, and, on the 28th of that month, came in ſight of the Dutch fleet about break of day; an engagement began between the two fleets about eight o'clock in the morning. And on this occaſion the earl, in the Royal James, a ſhip of an hundred guns, gave the moſt ſignal proofs of his valour. He was firſt attacked by a large Dutch ſhip, named the Great Holland, commanded by captain Brackell, followed by a fire-ſhip; which was ſoon ſeconded by the Dutch rear-admiral Van Ghent, with his whole ſquadron. Brackell, though of much leſs force, depending on the aſſiſtance of his friends, who had the advantage of the wind, grappled the Royal James; and while the earl was engaged with him, he was attacked by Van Ghent, with ſeveral other men of war and fire-ſhips, againſt all which he defended himſelf with great vigour. The Dutch rear-admiral, Van Ghent, was ſoon taken off by a cannon-ſhot; three of their fire-ſhips, and a man of war, which would have laid the earl on board, on the other ſide, were ſunk; and at length he was diſengaged from Brackell's ſhip, with which he had been grappled an hour and an half, and had reduced her to the ſtate of a wreck, wounded her commander, killed and wounded almoſt all his officers, and above two-thirds of his men. He had now defended himſelf, and repulſed the enemy with the utmoſt bravery, for five hours together, and it was believed might have made an honourable retreat. But he would not be perſuaded to deſiſt from the unequal combat, though not ſeconded, as he ought to have been, by his ſquadron. At length, another Dutch fire-ſhip, covered by the ſmoke of the enemy, grappled the Royal James, and ſet her in a flame. And the brave earl periſhed in her, with ſeveral other gallant officers.

Such was the end, on the 28th of May 1672, of Edward earl of Sandwich. He was a nobleman of great abi-

lities, of extraordinary courage, of uncommon ſkill in all naval affairs, and poſſeſſed of many perſonal accompliſhments. Biſhop Parker ſays, he was "a gentleman adorned with all the virtues of Alcibiades, and untainted by any of his vices; of high birth; capable of any buſineſs; full of wiſdom; a great commander at ſea and land; and alſo learned and eloquent, affable, liberal, and magnificent." The earl was always againſt regarding any qualification but merit, in the preferments of the navy; declaring, upon all occaſions, againſt ſhewing favour to the relations of peers, or other perſons of diſtinction, to the prejudice of ſuch as had ſerved longer, or better: and this rendered him the idol of the fleet.

The earl's body was found near a fortnight after the engagement; an account of which, and of the manner in which he was buried, was inſerted in the Gazette in the following terms: "Harwich, 10th June 1672. This day the body of the right honourable Edward earl of Sandwich, being, by the order upon his coat, diſcovered floating on the ſea, by one of his majeſty's ketches, was taken up, and brought into this port; where Sir Charles Littleton, the governor, receiving it, took immediate care for its embalming and honourable diſpoſing, till his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known concerning it; for the obtaining of which, his majeſty was attended at Whitehall the next day, by the maſter of the ſaid veſſel, who, by Sir Charles Littleton's order, was ſent to preſent his majeſty with the George, found about the body of the ſaid earl; which remained, at the time of its taking up, in every part unblemiſhed, ſaving ſome impreſſions made by the fire upon his face and breaſt: upon which, his majeſty, out of his princely regard to the great deſervings of the ſaid earl, and his unexampled performances in this laſt act of his life, hath reſolved to have his body brought up to London, there, at his charge, to receive the rites of funeral due to his great quality and merits."---Accordingly, on the 3d of July, the body being laid in the moſt ſolemn manner

ner in a ſumptuous barge at Deptford, was brought by water to Weſtminſter, attended by the royal barges; the barges of the nobility, of the lord-mayor, and of the ſeveral companies of the city of London, decorated ſuitably to the melancholy occaſion: the trumpets and other muſic on board ſounded the deepeſt notes expreſſive of ſorrow: the guns at the Tower were fired as the proceſſion paſſed, and thoſe at Whitehall when the corpſe was conveyed to Weſtminſter-abbey. Eight earls ſupported his ſon, Edward earl of Sandwich, the chief mourner; and moſt of the nobility, and other perſons of quality then in town, aſſiſted at the funeral obſequies of this illuſtrious admiral, whoſe remains were depoſited in the duke of Albemarle's vault, on the north ſide of Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

*** *Authorities.* Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Britiſh Biography, 8vo. vol. 6.

THE LIFE OF

EDWARD HYDE,

EARL OF CLARENDON,

Lord High Chancellor of England.

[A. D. 1608, to 1674.]

THIS celebrated ſtateſman and hiſtorian was deſcended from an ancient family in Cheſhire, and he was the third ſon of Henry Hyde, Eſq. a gentleman poſſeſſed of a ſmall fortune, on the income of which he reſided at Dinton, near Hindon in Wiltſhire, where the future chancellor was born in 1608.

He was educated under the private tuition of the vicar of Dinton, till he was turned of thirteen years of age,

age, when he was ſent to Oxford, and, in Lent term, 1622, became a ſtudent of Magdalen-hall, where, having improved his natural endowments by academical learning, he removed from thence, after he had taken the degree of bachelor of arts, to the Middle Temple; there he ſtudied the law for ſeveral years, and acquired great reputation in that honourable profeſſion.

When the lawyers reſolved to expreſs publicly their diſapprobation of Prynne's Hiſtriomaſtix, a treatiſe againſt plays and maſques, levelled at Charles I. and his queen; Mr. Hyde and Mr. Whitlocke were choſen by the Temple to be Managers, for that ſociety, of a maſque preſented to their majeſties, at Whitehall, by the gentlemen of the inns of courts, on Candlemas-day, 1634.

Mr. Hyde continued his attention to the buſineſs of his profeſſion, ſeemingly without any intention to diſtinguiſh himſelf in public life, till the year 1640, when he was elected a member of the houſe of commons for Wotton Baſſet in Wiltſhire. In parliament, his abilities were ſoon diſcovered by the leading men of the houſe; and he ſhewed himſelf, through the courſe of the ſeſſion, to be a ſteady and active patriot, wholly intent upon the welfare and tranquillity of the nation, then in no ſmall ferment upon many occaſions.

But, though this parliament was abruptly diſſolved, to the great grief and diſappointment of Mr. Hyde, and all good men, the king and kingdom, as things ſtood, could not long remain without another, which met the third of November following, when Mr. Hyde ſerved for the town of Saltaſh in Cornwall. His political talents began now to be very much taken notice of, and he was appointed chairman of ſeveral committees at that troubleſome æra; and he acquired great reputation, as a true patriot, by his conduct as manager of a conference with the houſe of lords for aboliſhing the oppreſſive juriſdiction of a tribunal called, "The Court of York;" and likewiſe by his learned and eloquent ſpeech againſt the ſix judges who gave their opinions

to

to the king in ſupport of the legality of levying ſhip-money.

But though Mr. Hyde was very active in endeavouring to redreſs the real grievances of the nation, he was, on the other hand, as watchful to prevent innovations in the conſtitution; and a ſhort bill being brought in to take away the biſhops' votes in parliament, and to leave them out in all commiſſions of the peace, or any thing that had relation to temporal affairs, he was very earneſt for the throwing it out, and ſaid, "That from the time that parliaments began, biſhops had always been a part of it; that, if they were taken out, there would be no repreſentatives of the clergy; which would be a great injuſtice."

Lord Falkland, who always ſat next to him (which was ſo much obſerved, that, if they came not in together, as they uſually did, every body left the place for him that was abſent), upon this occaſion oppoſed Mr. Hyde; and many of the houſe were ſo pleaſed to ſee the two inſeparable friends divided on ſo important a point, that they could not conceal their joy, eſpecially when they ſaw Mr. Hyde much ſurpriſed, as indeed he was, having never diſcovered the leaſt inclination in the other towards ſuch ſentiments; and, therefore, they flattered themſelves, that they might, in time, work the lord Falkland to a farther oppoſition to the meaſures of the court; but therein they found themſelves much miſtaken.

Mr. Hyde was one of the committee employed to draw up the articles of impeachment againſt the earl of Strafford; but, being of the ſame opinion as the king, that he had been guilty only of miſdemeanours, not of high treaſon, he refuſed to have any hand in the proceedings by attainder. In a word, he acted upon patriotic, independent principles in the houſe, never oppoſing the king but for his own and the public benefit, nor adhering to oppoſition any longer than while they had only the ſame glorious end in view. As ſoon, therefore,

fore, as the commons went beyond what he conceived to be the line of their duty, and began to aſſume the executive power veſted in the crown, he left them, and repaired to the king at York, who was pleaſed to confer upon him the honour of knighthood, and made him chancellor of the exchequer.

He attended his majeſty to Nottingham, where he ſet up his ſtandard in Auguſt 1642; but being a gentleman of the robe, and not of the ſword, we hear little of him in the courſe of the civil war, till the treaty at Uxbridge in 1644, at which he was one of the commiſſioners for the king; where he ſhewed himſelf a ſtrenuous aſſertor of the king's right to the militia; and vindicated the king's council from any miſmanagement in reference to the affairs of Ireland, with which the parliament charged them.

The treaty being broken off, and the civil war going on, Sir Edward Hyde's province, for ſome time, was to attend the prince of Wales in the weſt. Upon the decline of the king's affairs, he embarked from Pendennis caſtle, in Cornwall, for the iſle of Scilly, accompanied by the lords Capel and Culpepper, and from thence he went to Jerſey, to meet the prince of Wales; but being greatly diſguſted at the prince's removal to Paris in 1646, he refuſed to attend him there; and remained two years and a half at Jerſey, where he employed his time in compoſing great part of his well-known "Hiſtory of the Rebellion."

In the month of May 1648, Sir Edward Hyde received a letter from the queen, conſort to Charles I. requiring him, purſuant to his majeſty's commands, tranſmitted to her from England, to give his perſonal attendance on the prince of Wales at Paris by a certain day; but the time was expired before he received the letter; and on his arrival at Rouen in Normandy, he found that the prince of Wales was gone to Flanders; upon which he followed him, and arriving at Dunkirk, he received intelligence, that his royal highneſs was on board a fleet,

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commanded by prince Rupert, which had ſet ſail for the Thames, and had left orders for Sir Edward, and his companion, lord Cottington, to follow him. The governor of Dunkirk provided them a frigate, in which they ſet ſail to join the fleet; but they were attacked, boarded, and plundered by Oſtend pirates, which obliged them to put back; and the expedition failing, the royal fleet being refuſed admittance at Yarmouth, it was obliged to ſteer for Helvoetſluys: from whence the prince of Wales went to the Hague, and there Sir Edward Hyde and lord Cottington joined him.

In November 1649, they were ſent by Charles II. joint ambaſſadors to the court of Spain, to ſolicit ſuccours to enable the king to recover his crown; but the parliament fleet appearing upon the coaſt of Spain, deterred the Spaniſh miniſtry from aiding the royal cauſe; and after a tedious negociation they returned the following year.

Upon their arrival at the Hague, the king gave them an account of his unfortunate expedition to Scotland, and his defeat at Worceſter; and, as Sir Edward had given his advice againſt this expedition before he ſet out for Spain, he was not a little diſpleaſed that it had been undertaken in his abſence. And finding he could be no longer uſeful to the king by his perſonal attendance at a debauched court, he retired to Antwerp, where he had ſettled his family. Here he left no meaſures unattempted, by letters and negociations, to compaſs the Reſtoration; but this correſpondence his enemies about the king miſrepreſented, and pretended that he was ſecretly negociating with Cromwell.

But in the end, having baffled all the deſigns of his adverſaries, the moſt potent of whom was the queen-dowager, and fully convinced the king, not only of his innocence, but of his zealous, conſtant attachment to his cauſe, his majeſty was pleaſed to make him lord-chancellor of England in 1657, upon the death of Sir Edward Herbert, the laſt lord-keeper of the great-ſeal. He

received

received the great ſeal very unwillingly: the king firſt employing the marquis of Ormond, with whom his majeſty knew he had an intire friendſhip, to diſpoſe him to receive it; which he could not accompliſh, Sir Edward giving him many reaſons why there was no need of ſuch an officer, or indeed any uſe of the great-ſeal till the king, then at Bruges, ſhould come into England.

The marquis told the king of it; who went himſelf to the chancellor's lodging, and took notice of what the marquis had told him; and ſaid, he would deal truly and freely with him; that the principal reaſon which he had alleged againſt receiving the ſeal was the greateſt reaſon that diſpoſed him to confer it upon him; and then he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he had received from Paris, for the grant of ſeveral reverſions in England of offices, and of lands. He mentioned to him alſo many other importunities with which he was every day diſquieted; and that he ſaw no other remedy to give himſelf eaſe, than to put the ſeal out of his own keeping into ſuch hands as would not be importuned, and would help him to deny: and thereupon he conjured Sir Edward to receive that truſt, with many promiſes of his favour and protection: whereupon, the earl of Briſtol, and ſecretary Nicholas, uſing likewiſe their perſuaſions, he ſubmitted to the king's pleaſure.

The chief adminiſtration of affairs was now, in a very great degree, in the hands of the lord-chancellor; of whoſe capacity, as well as integrity, his majeſty had ſo long and convincing experience, that he was the more ready to leave all to him. Oliver's death, and the various revolutions that happened upon it in England, revived the hopes and activity of the chancellor to promote the reſtoration of his royal maſter to his loſt dominions; and moſt, if not all, of the royal declarations, which were publiſhed, were of his drawing-up. The Reſtoration being happily effected, Sir Edward, as

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he had been partaker of the ſufferings of his ſovereign, had now a proportionable ſhare in his good fortune.

Beſides the office of lord-high-chancellor, which was confirmed to him, he was employed as a ſtateſman, and the king intruſted the management of the public buſineſs of the nation chiefly to him. In 1660, he was elected chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, and created a peer of the realm by the title of baron Hyde, in Wiltſhire; and in 1661, he was raiſed to the dignity of viſcount Cornbury and earl of Clarendon.

But his ſituation was far from being deſirable, being attended with many difficulties and vexations, owing to the thoughtleſs diſpoſition of the king, who had been very liberal of his promiſes to his friends during his exile, without conſidering how he ſhould perform them; and now being importuned daily for places, penſions, and other gratifications, he anſwered theſe ſolicitations with a gracious ſmile, and referred them for ſatisfaction to the lord-chancellor, who being unable to gratify their deſires, they threw the blame upon him, became his bitter enemies, and entered into ſchemes to ruin him. A moſt favourable opportunity ſoon offered, which ſeemed well calculated to procure his diſgrace. His eldeſt daughter had been maid of honour to the king's ſiſter, married to the prince of Orange, and, during Miſs Hyde's reſidence at the Hague in this ſtation, the duke of York, afterwards James II. fell in love with her, and made diſhonourable propoſals; but theſe being rejected, he privately married her. After the Reſtoration, the lady came to England, and, being with child, inſiſted upon the duke's avowing the marriage, which he endeavoured to evade; but the ducheſs perſiſting, "that ſhe would have it known that ſhe was his wife, let him uſe her ever ſo ill for it," the duke communicated the whole affair to the king; and requeſted permiſſion to acknowledge her publicly. Her father, upon the firſt intimation of the affair, fell into ſuch apparent fits of

rage, and ſo raſhly devoted his daughter to death, as a proper puniſhment for her preſumption, that his friends thought he was unnaturally ſevere; and his enemies ſaid he over-acted his part as a political diſſembler; and the latter opinion prevailed, when it was found that the king was eaſily reconciled to the match, and that the reconciliation of the chancellor with his daughter followed cloſe upon it; and the malice of his enemies ſuggeſted the idea of a ſtrange accuſation againſt him, in conſequence of this family-alliance with the crown. It was ſaid that he had contrived the king's marriage with the infanta of Portugal, with a view of ſecuring the ſucceſſion to the throne, on the iſſue of his daughter the ducheſs of York; for it had been declared before the king's marriage took place by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and the earl of Briſtol, that the intended queen could have no children; and this declaration was verified in the ſequel, for the queen was barren. However, the imputation on lord Clarendon was groundleſs; for it was well known that the great inducement to this marriage was the dowry, which was to be 500,000 l. beſides the ceſſion of Tangier and Bombay, to which was annexed a commercial treaty with Portugal, highly beneficial to the Engliſh merchants.

The firſt open attack made upon the lord-chancellor was by the earl of Briſtol, who, in 1663, exhibited articles of high-treaſon againſt him in the houſe of lords. And, what is ſtill more remarkable, there had been a long courſe of uninterrupted friendſhip both at home and abroad, both in proſperous and adverſe fortune, between the earl of Briſtol and the earl of Clarendon; ſo that the ſame ſeemed to be like the Gordian knot, indiſſoluble: but the chancellor refuſing a ſmall boon, as the earl of Briſtol took it to be, which it was ſaid, was the paſſing a patent in favour of a court-lady, this ſo ſoured the other's ſpirits, never dreaming he ſhould be denied, that his thoughts ſuggeſted nothing to him from thenceforwards but malice and the higheſt revenge.

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The whole charge teeming with inconſiſtency, and being evidently the effect of violent anger, could not affect him capitally; but ſeveral particulars in the accuſation gave his enemies an opportunity to leſſen him in the king's eſteem, ſo that, though he was honourably cleared from this proſecution without a trial, the judges having given it as their opinion, that there was not ſufficient ground for proceeding farther, yet it laid the foundation of his future diſgrace. And from this time intrigues were carried on againſt him by the duke of Buckingham, Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards earl of Arlington, and colonel Titus; and at length the king grew tired of the chancellor's private remonſtrances againſt his irregular life; his miſtreſſes likewiſe complained to him of the diſreſpect ſhewn them by his lordſhip; and theſe diſcontents in the palace uniting with the clamours of the people againſt him, his majeſty thought proper to ſend for the great ſeal in Auguſt 1667, which was no ſooner delivered up, and his lordſhip removed from the exerciſe of all public truſt and employment, but the commons proceeded to draw up articles againſt him; and Mr. Seymour, in their name, impeached him, at the bar of the houſe of lords, of treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanours.

Thus was the diſgrace of this great man accompliſhed, after he had enjoyed the king's confidence, and the moſt honourable office in the ſtate, about ſeven years. During which time, the following incidents had rendered him extremely unpopular. His averſion to declaring war againſt the Dutch, though the nation had been groſsly inſulted by that country; his adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk; erecting a ſuperb palace in a time of war, and in the year of the great plague, in which too he made uſe of ſome ſtones which had been bought for the repair of St Paul's Cathedral, a circumſtance ſufficient to exaſperate the ſuperſtitious; the diſreſpect with which he affected to treat the houſe of commons,

and his manifeſt contempt of their privileges; and his oppoſition to the bill for liberty of conſcience, in which his zeal for the Proteſtant religion overſhot its mark; for, while he endeavoured to exclude Papiſts from toleration by oppoſing this bill, he forgot that it included Proteſtant diſſenters of every denomination, whom he thereby made his enemies.

A great number of ſatirical pieces were publiſhed before and after his diſmiſſion; and among the reſt a ſong, conſiſting of many ſtanzas, at the cloſe of which was the following epigram, compriſing the principal heads of popular clamour againſt him. The ſong is intitled, "CLARENDON'S HOUSE-WARMING."

Here lie the ſacred bones
Of Paul, beguiled of his ſtones.
Here lie the golden briberies
Of many ruined families.
Here lies the cavalier's debenture-wall,
Fixed on an eccentric baſis:
Here's Dunkirk town and Tangier-hall,
The queen's marriage and all,
The Dutchman's Templum pacis.

However, it muſt be confeſſed, that the people were too ſevere upon the fallen miniſter, and rather ungrateful; for it is an undoubted fact, that he curbed the prerogative of the crown, and prevented the deſigns of his brethren in office, particularly the earl of Southampton, lord-high-treaſurer, who wanted to make the king independent of parliaments, by procuring ſuch a revenue to be ſettled on him for life, as would enable him to reign without calling them, except upon extraordinary emergencies, ſuch as wars or rebellions.

Lord Clarendon, perceiving he had no mercy to expect, by the virulent attacks made upon his character by almoſt all orders of men, and a new impeachment having been carried up to the lords againſt him by the commons, thought proper to leave the kingdom.—

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But before he embarked for his ſecond and laſt exile, he drew up an apology, in a petition to the houſe of lords, vindicating his own conduct in the management of public affairs, and charging others with the miſcarriages that had lately incenſed the nation. The lords, upon reading it, ſent two of the judges to deſire a conference with the commons on the contents of it. But the duke of Buckingham, who was clearly aimed at in the petition, delivered it to the lower houſe, and, in his uſual ſtyle of inſult and ridicule, ſaid, "The lords have commanded me to deliver to you this ſcandalous and ſeditious paper ſent from the earl of Clarendon. They bid me preſent it to you, and deſire you, in a convenient time, to ſend it to them again; for it is a ſtyle they are in love with, and therefore deſire to keep it." Thus prejudiced, the commons read the petition; and the duke's friends had influence ſufficient to carry the following vote, that it was "ſcandalous, malicious, and a reproach to the juſtice of the nation;" whereupon it was ordered by both houſes to be burnt by the common hangman; a proceeding which was a much greater reproach to a nation, too much ſwayed by popular prejudice. Lord Clarendon retired to France, but he was very near being driven from that kingdom by the intereſt of his enemies: for, ſoon after he landed at Calais, he received orders from the French court to leave France inſtantly; but being confined to his bed with the gout, he petitioned for time; and, in the interval, the French court finding their political intrigues in England did not ſucceed as they expected, their behaviour to his lordſhip ſuddenly changed, and he was permitted to remain in that kingdom. The earl, upon this permiſſion, ſet out for Avignon; and in his way thither, having taken up his lodgings in a ſmall town called Eureux, he was aſſaulted in a violent and unexpected manner by a body of Engliſh, Iriſh, and Scotch ſeamen, who had entered into the ſervice of France; and who, on the frequent complaints from the inhabitants of their

ill behaviour, were to have been removed that very night. Theſe deſperadoes, being informed of lord Clarendon's arrival, pretended great arrears were due to them for wages in England, and that he ſhould pay them before he left the town. They likewiſe thought they ſhould be rewarded by the Engliſh government, if they killed him, and they had certainly effected it, having dragged him from his bed down into the court-yard of the houſe for that purpoſe, when providentially their own commanding-officer, aſſiſted by the officers of the police, reſcued him, and ſeized the ring-leaders, three of whom were broke upon the wheel for this cruel attempt; and the French miniſter wrote a polite letter to his lordſhip in the king's name, expreſſing his majeſty's concern for the affront and danger he had undergone.

The earl was ſucceeded in the ſeals by Sir Orlando Bridgman, by the title of lord-keeper; in his chancellorſhip of Oxford, by archbiſhop Sheldon; and being informed, two or three years after his exile, that his daughter, the ducheſs of York, was turning if not turned, Papiſt, he wrote a well-penned letter to the duke on the ſubject, as if his highneſs had been ſtill a Proteſtant, though he knew him to be a concealed Papiſt, and another more at large to his daughter, wherein he uſed the freedom and authority, as well as the tenderneſs, of a parent, and manifeſted the great knowledge he had in polemical divinity, and the artifices of the church of Rome to gain proſelytes.

After ſojourning in different parts of France, he at laſt fixed his reſidence at Rouen in Normandy, where he died in the year 1674. His body was brought to England, and buried on the north ſide of Henry Seventh's Chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey.

This great and learned chancellor, beſides ſeveral letters, ſpeeches, &c. of his that are extant, wrote, 1. A full anſwer to an infamous and traitorous libel, intitled, A Declaration of the Commons of England, in Parliament aſſembled, expreſſing their Reaſons and Grounds

Grounds for paſſing their late Reſolutions, touching no farther Addreſs or Application to be made to the King. Lond. 1648, 4to. 2. The Difference and Diſparity between the Eſtates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham, and Robert Earl of Eſſex. See Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, &c. Lond. 1672, 8vo. 3. Animadverſions on Mr. Creſſey's book, intitled, Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church, by Dr. Stillingfleet, &c. Lond. 1674, 8vo. 4. A brief View and Survey of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to Church and State in Mr. Hobbes's book, the Leviathan. Oxon. 1676, 4to. 5. The Hiſtory of the Rebellion, begun in 1641, &c. 3 vols. folio, and in 6 vols. 8vo. And, in 1759, three volumes more of his lordſhip's hiſtory were publiſhed by the univerſity of Oxford, in 8vo. containing his life, as well as a continuation of his hiſtory, from the Reſtoration to his baniſhment. To theſe the reader is referred for a more ample account of his private life after his baniſhment, and of the affairs of England from the Reſtoration to that time; the limits of this work not admitting of tedious details of trifling incidents, much leſs of long political diſcuſſions and negociations.

Authorities. Whitlocke's Memorials. Lives of the Lord Chancellors, Lond. 1708. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times.

THE LIFE OF

SIR MATTHEW HALE,

Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench.

[A D. 1609, to 1676.]

THIS great ornament of the law was the ſon of Robert Hale, Eſq. a barriſter of Lincoln's Inn, a gentleman

gentleman of ſuch ſtrict honour, that he threw up his practice at the bar, becauſe he could not reconcile it to his conſcience; that what is called giving colour in pleadings, and ſome other chicanes common to the profeſſion, were not reconcilable to that ſcrupulous exact veracity and juſtice required in a pious Chriſtian. Upon this account he retired to the country, and lived upon the income of a ſmall eſtate at Alderley, in Glouceſterſhire, where his ſon Matthew was born in 1609. Both his parents died while he was a child, and the care of his education devolved on his guardian Anthony Kingſcot, Eſq. who put him under the tuition of Mr. Staunton, vicar of Wotton-under-Edge, till the year 1626, when he was ſent to Magdalen-hall, in Oxford, where he became a great proficient in learning; and continued for ſome time to be very aſſiduous at his ſtudies. But ſome ſtrolling players arriving at the univerſity, his manners were corrupted by frequenting theatrical amuſements; and he fell into many levities and extravagancies of youth, which took him off from his ſtudies, and even gave him an averſion to them: ſo that he now began to learn manly exerciſes, and being robuſt and active, he ſucceeded ſo well in fencing, and the management of warlike weapons, as turned his thoughts to a military life, and induced him to accompany Mr. Sedgwick, his tutor, who was appointed chaplain to lord Vere, then ſerving in the Low Countries under the prince of Orange, to whom Mr. Hale intended to offer himſelf as a volunteer. But he was diverted from this courſe of life by a law-ſuit commenced againſt him for part of his paternal inheritance by Sir William Whitmore; and, upon this occaſion, having recourſe to ſerjeant Glanville for his opinion on the caſe, that gentleman adviſed him to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of the law, and to embrace that profeſſion. Mr. Hale took this advice, and was entered at Lincoln's Inn, in the year 1629.

From this time, he gave up his diſorderly company, and

and with it every kind of diſſipation; and to make up for the time he had loſt by idleneſs, he now applied ſo cloſely to his ſtudies, that, it is ſaid, he ſtudied for many years at the rate of ſixteen hours daily. He had before been very expenſive and gaudy in his apparel; but he now neglected his dreſs ſo much, that being a robuſt well made man, and but meanly clothed, he was ſeized by a preſs-gang as a fit perſon to ſerve his majeſty; and this accident made him more circumſpect for the future, but it did not make him to run into any extremes, his apparel being neat, but plain.

His confirmed reſolutions to reform his life likewiſe aroſe from another extraordinary incident: he went out of town with ſome other young ſtudents on a party of pleaſure, when one of them drank ſo much wine, though Mr. Hale uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it, that he fell down before them to all appearance dead, but, with proper aſſiſtance, was, with great difficulty, recovered. Upon this occaſion, Mr. Hale retired to another room, and, ſhutting himſelf in, fervently prayed to God for the life of his friend, and likewiſe for himſelf, that he might be forgiven for countenancing ſuch exceſs; and he made a ſolemn vow, that he would never again keep ſuch company, nor drink a toaſt to his dying-day; and in both theſe points he religiouſly kept his word.

Not ſatisfied with the law-books then extant, he was very diligent in ſearching ancient records, and from theſe, and collections out of the books he had read, he compoſed a moſt valuable common-place book. Mr. Hale's reſearches into antiquity were aided by the learned Mr. Selden, who, very early in life, formed an acquaintance with him, and had ſo great an eſteem for him, that he appointed him to be one of his executors. Mr. Noy, the attorney-general, likewiſe directed his ſtudies; and ſuch an intimacy ſprung up between them, that Mr. Hale was uſually called Young Noy.

Mr. Hale was called to the bar a ſhort time before the

the open rupture between king Charles I. and his parliament; and at this critical juncture it was extremely difficult for the gentlemen of the robe to act in such a manner as to preserve independency in their principles, and to steer clear of danger. Our young counsellor, however, had read the life of Titus Pomponius Atticus, the celebrated Epicurean philosopher and Roman orator, who, during the wars of Cæsar and Pompey, and of Anthony and Brutus, conducted himself with such address, that he was esteemed and caressed by all parties; and Mr. Hale made him the model for his own behaviour, closely adhering to the two favourite maxims of the Roman philosopher, "To engage in no faction, nor meddle with public affairs:"—"Constantly to favour and relieve the oppressed." Thus he ingratiated himself with the royalists, by benevolent assistance to distressed cavaliers; and he procured the esteem of the parliamentarians by his integrity and great abilities in his profession, so that he was employed as counsel by both parties; and though he carefully avoided giving offence, he did not want spirit and resolution upon proper occasions. He was one of the counsel for the earl of Strafford, for archbishop Laud, and for Charles I. but the king not acknowledging the jurisdiction of the court, he had no opportunity to display his eloquence in the royal cause; but, in the defence of lord Craven, he pleaded with such strength of argument, that the attorney-general threatened him for appearing against the government; upon which he boldly replied, "That he was pleading in defence of those laws which the government had declared they would maintain and preserve, and he was doing his duty to his client; so that he was not to be daunted by threatenings." In 1643, he took the covenant, and sat several times with other laymen in the assembly of divines. He was then in great esteem by the parliament, and employed by them as a lawyer upon many important affairs. In particular he was appointed one of the commissioners to treat

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with thoſe nominated by the king upon the reduction of Oxford. In this capacity he performed a ſignal ſervice to the republic of letters, by intreating general Fairfax to ſpare the univerſity, with all its ancient treaſures of learning.

Though he ſincerely lamented the fate of Charles I. yet he thought it his duty to take the engagement to the commonwealth; and, in 1652, he was one of the able men in the law appointed by the parliament to reviſe and reform the laws of England.

Oliver Cromwell, as ſoon as he was made protector, rightly judging that the countenance of a man of Mr. Hale's abilities and character on the bench of juſtice, would give weight to his government, never ceaſed his importunities, till he accepted the office of one of the juſtices of the common bench, as it was then called: for which purpoſe he was made by writ a ſerjeant in January 1654. He had great ſcruples concerning the legality of the authority under which he was to act as a judge; and, after he had been two or three circuits, he refuſed to try criminal cauſes; and he was the more readily excuſed, becauſe, upon ſome occaſions, he had acted with remarkable integrity and firmneſs, even in oppoſition to the power from whence he enjoyed his commiſſion. Dr. Burnet, in his life of Sir Matthew Hale, produces one inſtance which ought to be tranſmitted, with his name, to lateſt poſterity, if it were only as a mirror for judges. "Soon after he was made a judge, a trial was brought on before him at Lincoln aſſizes, againſt a ſoldier of the garriſon there, for the murder of a townſman, who had been of the king's party. The townſman was in a field with a fowling-piece on his ſhoulder, which the ſoldier obſerving, he went up to him, and told him, he was acting contrary to an order made by the protector, "that none who had been of the king's party ſhould carry arms," and thereupon would have forced his gun from him; but he, being ſtronger than the ſoldier, threw him down,

down, and, having beat him, left him. The ſoldier, however, ſoon went into the town, and telling a comrade how he had been uſed, prevailed on him to aſſiſt him in taking revenge. Accordingly they both watched his coming to town; the comrade demanded his gun, which he refuſing, the ſame ſoldier ſtruck him, and as they were ſtruggling the other came behind him, and ran his ſword into his body, which killed him on the ſpot. It happened in the time of the aſſizes, ſo that they were both tried ſoon after the fact. Againſt the comrade there was no evidence of malice prepenſe; he was therefore found guilty only of manſlaughter, and burnt in the hand; but the other, on the cleareſt evidence, was convicted of murder; and though colonel Whalley, governor of the garriſon, came into court, and urged, that the man was killed for diſobeying the protector's order, and that the ſoldier had but done his duty, yet judge Hale paid no regard to his reaſoning, nor to ſome menaces he threw out; for he not only paſſed ſentence againſt him, but ordered execution to be done ſo ſuddenly, that there could be no time to apply for a reprieve. Upon the demiſe of Oliver, he not only excuſed himſelf from accepting the mourning that was ſent him, but alſo refuſed to accept the new commiſſion tendered to him by Richard Cromwell, alleging, "that he could no longer act under ſuch authority." In the parliament, convened by Richard Cromwell in January 1659, he was elected one of the burgeſſes for the univerſity of Oxford, in gratitude for the ſervice he had formerly done that learned body. In the Healing Parliament of 1660, which recalled Charles II. he was knight of the ſhire for the county of Glouceſter; and moved the houſe, that a committee might be appointed to look into the propoſitions that had been made, and the conceſſions that had been offered, by Charles I. during the civil war, that from thence ſuch propoſitions might be digeſted, as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to the king at Breda.

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In the ſpace of a month after the king's reſtoration, he was re-called to the degree of a ſerjeant at law, by the royal writ, Cromwell's being deemed illegal; and, upon ſettling the courts of Weſtminſter-hall in November, he was conſtituted chief-baron of the exchequer. When the lord-chancellor Clarendon delivered him his commiſſion, he told him, "that if the king could have found an honeſter and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, becauſe he knew none that deſerved it ſo well." In this ſtation, he continued eleven years, and he very much raiſed the reputation and practice of his court, by his impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, his indefatigable diligence, and his great exactneſs in trials. This gave occaſion to the only complaint that was made againſt him; "that he did not diſpatch matters quick enough;" but his delay generally proved deciſive, ſo that there were ſeldom any new trials by appeal from his judgment. It was uſual for perſons, in ſuch high ſtations as his, to have the honour of knighthood conferred upon them; but he was deſirous to avoid it, and therefore did not go to court, which the lord-chancellor obſerving, ſent for him to to his houſe upon buſineſs, when he knew the king was to be there, and when they met, he told his majeſty "there was his modeſt chief-baron;" upon which his majeſty inſiſted upon making him a knight. It is recorded of this great man, that he manifeſted ſuch an averſion to the very appearance of bribery, as was conſtrued into affectation; and ſome remarkable inſtances are given of this his ſcrupulous diſpoſition; one of which may ſuffice to determine his character.

Upon one of his circuits, a gentleman, who had a trial to come on at the aſſizes, ſent him a buck for his table; upon which, when he heard his name mentioned in court, he aſked, if he was not the ſame perſon that had ſent him the buck; and being anſwered in the affirmative, he told him, he could not ſuffer the trial to

go on, till he had paid him for his buck; to which the gentleman anſwered, "that he never ſold veniſon, and that he had done no more to him, than to every judge that had gone the circuit;" but all would not do, for the chief-baron would not ſuffer the trial to proceed till he had paid for the veniſon; and it appeared that he was right, for the gentleman withdrew the record; which plainly ſhewed he intended the preſent ſhould influence him.

Sir Matthew Hale, agreeably to one of the maxims of Pomponius Atticus, now favoured the diſſenters, thinking that they were oppreſſed in this reign; and he readily joined with the lord-keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and the learned Dr. Wilkins, biſhop of Cheſter, in a bill for the comprehenſion of the more moderate diſſenters within the pale of the eſtabliſhed church, and a limited indulgence to others; but the deſign proved abortive, the clergy of the eſtabliſhment exerting themſelves with great violence againſt it, and, by their influence, the bill miſcarried in the houſe of commons.

In 1671, our learned and upright judge was promoted to the high office of lord chief-juſtice of all England, vacant by the death of Sir John Keeling. This promotion gave great ſatisfaction to the people, who highly applauded the king's choice; for they conſidered Sir Matthew Hale, in his capacity of chief-juſtice of the court of King's-bench, as the guardian of their liberties, and thought they could not be better depoſited than in the hands of a judge, who thoroughly underſtood them, and who poſſeſſed courage and integrity to maintain the ſacred truſt repoſed in him; ſo far were they in his time from conſidering this high officer as an inſtrument of regal prerogative, ready upon all occaſions to ſacrifice the rights and privileges of the people to the will of the ſovereign, ſignified by his ſupport of arbitrary miniſters of ſtate. But he held this important poſt only four years and a half, for he was ſuddenly attacked

attacked with an inflammation of his midriff, in the beginning of the year 1676, which, in two days, reduced him ſo very low, that he found himſelf unable to go through the fatigue of public buſineſs, and therefore he ſolicited a writ of eaſe, which being delayed, he reſigned in February, and he died in the month of December of the ſame year. He was interred in the church-yard of Alderly; for he did not approve of the indecent practice of burying in churches, but uſed to ſay, "The churches were for the living, and the church-yards for the dead."

Sir Matthew Hale was twice married, and had ten children by his firſt lady, but he ſurvived all but his eldeſt daughter, and his youngeſt ſon. The character of this upright judge was as laudable in private, as in public life. He was eminent for piety, hoſpitality, and charity, and much commended for his judgment in the choice of the objects of his benevolence. In a word, we have not a finer picture in modern hiſtory, of a great and good man, than is exhibited in the life of Sir Matthew Hale; as it is written at large by Dr. Burnet, the famous biſhop of Saliſbury.

During the vacations of the law, he amuſed himſelf with the ſtudy of natural and moral philoſophy and mathematics, in which ſciences he was a writer of no ſmall repute, for the time in which he lived: but his fame as an author is chiefly founded upon an elaborate work, intitled, *Hiſtoria Placitorum Coronæ;* the Hiſtory of the Pleas of the Crown, firſt publiſhed in 1736, from his original manuſcript; the ſeveral references to the records being examined by the originals, and large notes added by Sollom Emlyn, of Lincoln's Inn, Eſq. in two volumes folio. By his will he bequeathed all his law-manuſcripts, which he had been collecting upwards of forty years, to the ſociety of Lincoln's Inn; and he ordered that they ſhould be bound, and kept ſafe together, by chaining them, not to be lent out or diſpoſed of; but if any of his poſterity, being members of that ſociety,

ſhould deſire to tranſcribe any book, and give good ſecurity to reſtore it again in a prefixed time, they were impowered to lend one volume at a time. And he calls them "A treaſure not fit for every man's view:" nor, ſays he, is every man capable of making uſe of them.

The liſt of his law-tracts, and miſcellaneous works of leſs note, are to be found in the General Biographical Dictionary, in the Biographia Britannica, and in Burnet's Life; to which authorities we ſtand indebted for our conciſe memoirs of this illuſtrious magiſtrate.

THE LIFE OF

ANDREW MARVELL,

[A. D. 1620, to 1678.]

THIS renowned patriot was the ſon of Mr. Andrew Marvell, miniſter and ſchoolmaſter of Kingſton upon Hull, in Yorkſhire, where he was born in the year 1620; and in early youth diſcovering a genius for letters, he was admitted (at thirteen years of age) a ſtudent in Trinity-college, Cambridge. But he had not been long at the univerſity before he was enticed from his ſtudies by the Jeſuits, and taken to London. Fortunately his father got early intelligence of this ſeduction, and finding him in a bookſeller's ſhop, perſuaded him to return to college, where he applied to his ſtudies again with great aſſiduity, and took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1638, the eighteenth year of his age. About this time he loſt his father, by a melancholy accident, the particulars of which are thus related: "On the ſhore of the Humber, oppoſite to Kingſton, lived a lady of exemplary virtue and good ſenſe, between whom and Mr. Marvell, the father, a cloſe friendſhip ſubſiſted; and this lady had an only daughter, the emblem

blem of her mother, for every laudable accompliſhment, which made her ſo fond of this darling child, that ſhe could ſcarcely bear to let her go out of her ſight. Yet, upon the earneſt requeſt of her friend, Mr. Marvell, ſhe permitted her to go to Kingſton to ſtand godmother to one of his children, though ſhe knew ſhe muſt be abſent at leaſt one night. The next day, when the young lady came down to the water-ſide, in order to return home, ſhe found the wind very high, and the paſſage ſo dangerous, that the watermen earneſtly diſſuaded her from croſſing. But ſhe, having never willingly diſobliged her mother, and knowing that ſhe would be miſerable till ſhe ſaw her again, reſolved to hazard her life rather than prolong the anxiety of a fond parent: upon which, Mr. Marvell, having with difficulty prevailed on ſome watermen to attempt the paſſage, accompanied the young lady; and juſt as they put off, apprehenſive of the conſequence, he flung his gold-headed cane on ſhore, deſiring ſome friends who had attended them, if he periſhed, to give that cane to his ſon, and bid him remember his father: his fears were too juſt, for the boat ſoon overſet, and they both periſhed. The mother of the young lady was for ſome time inconſolable; but, when her grief ſubſided, ſhe reflected on young Marvell's loſs, and determined to ſupply to him the want of a father: his future education therefore was at her expence, and ſhe made him her heir."

With the aſſiſtance of this lady's fortune, the young gentleman was enabled to travel through moſt of the polite countries of Europe. It appears by his ſatirical poem, intitled, "Flecknoe, an Engliſh Prieſt at Rome," that he had viſited that city, where it is thought he compoſed it. He was likewiſe in France, where he exerciſed his poetical talents upon Lancelot Joſeph de Maniban, a French abbot, who pretended to characteriſe perſons he had never ſeen, and to prognoſticate their good or ill fortune from their hand-writing: the abſur-

dities of this man he ridiculed in a Latin poem written upon the ſpot, and addreſſed to him. But we have no account of the time when this occurrence happened, nor any regular memoirs of him till his return to England, except a ſlight intimation that he paſſed ſome time at Conſtantinople, in the capacity of ſecretary to the Engliſh embaſſy. In 1653, he was employed by Oliver Cromwell as preceptor to a young gentleman of the name of Dutton; and, in 1657, he was appointed aſſiſtant Latin ſecretary to the protector, in conjunction with the celebrated John Milton. A ſhort time before the Reſtoration, he was choſen to repreſent his native town in parliament; in which ſtation, being conſtantly re-elected upon the calling of new parliaments, he ſerved till his death; and it was his cuſtom to ſend the particulars of the proceedings of the houſe of commons, on ſubjects of conſequence, to the principal townſmen of Hull, always joining his opinion on the buſineſs in hand. And his conſtituents entertained ſo high a ſenſe of their obligations to him, that they allowed him an honourable penſion all the time that he repreſented them, and always treated him with the greateſt reſpect.

Mr. Marvell merited the applauſe, not only of his conſtituents, but of all his virtuous countrymen, for his incorruptible integrity, of which a remarkable inſtance is given by Mr. Cooke, in his life of our patriot, prefixed to his edition of his works. He informs us, that Mr. Marvell had rendered himſelf obnoxious to government, both by his actions and his writings; and notwithſtanding his proceedings were all contrary to his private intereſt, nothing could ever ſhake his reſolution. Having one night been entertained by the king, who took great delight in his company, his majeſty, the next day, ſent the lord-treaſurer Danby to find out his lodging. Mr. Marvell, who then lodged up two pair of ſtairs in a court in the Strand, was writing when the lord-treaſurer opened the door abruptly upon him. Surpriſed at the ſight of ſo unexpected a viſitor,

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he told him, he believed he had miſtaken his way.—Lord Danby replied, "Not now I have found Mr. Marvell;" telling him he came with a meſſage from his majeſty, which was, to know what he could do to ſerve him. But then coming to a ſerious explanation of his meaning, he told the lord-treaſurer he knew the nature of courts full well, and was ſufficiently ſenſible, that whoever is diſtinguiſhed by a prince's favour, is expected to vote in his intereſt. Lord Danby told him, his majeſty had only a juſt ſenſe of his merits, in regard to which alone he deſired to know whether there was any place at court he could be pleaſed with. Theſe offers had no effect on him, though urged with the greateſt earneſtneſs. He told the lord-treaſurer, he could not accept them with honour; for he muſt be either ungrateful to the king in voting againſt him, or falſe to his country in giving into the meaſures of the court; therefore the only favour he begged of his majeſty was, that he would eſteem him as dutiful a ſubject as any he had, and more in his proper intereſt in refuſing his offers, than if he had embraced them. Lord Danby, finding no arguments could prevail, told him, that the king, his maſter, had ordered a thouſand pounds for him, which he hoped he would receive, till he could think what farther to aſk of his majeſty. The laſt offer was rejected with the ſame ſteadineſs as the firſt; though, as ſoon as the lord-treaſurer was gone, he was forced to ſend to a friend to borrow a guinea.

In 1672, Mr. Marvell, with a public ſpirit becoming his patriotic character, engaged in a controverſy with Dr. Samuel Parker, at that time archdeacon of Canterbury, and afterwards biſhop of Oxford. This divine had ſignalized himſelf by his zeal for the hierarchy of the church of England, by defending and encouraging proſecutions againſt all non-conformiſts. In 1670, he had publiſhed a book, intitled, "Eccleſiaſtical Polity," which being warmly oppoſed, the following year he publiſhed, "A Defence of it;" but what particularly excited

excited Mr. Marvell to attack him, was his preface or dedication to biſhop Bramhall, in which he favours unlimited monarchy, and recommends a rigorous proſecution of all diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed church.—His "Eccleſiaſtical Polity" is a bitter libel upon the religious and civil rights of mankind. Marvell, now fully convinced of the dangerous tendency of ſuch books, was determined to expoſe the author, and, if poſſible, to drive him out of the field of controverſy with diſgrace. This he happily effected by a tract called, "The Rehearſal tranſproſed;" in which, with great ſtrength of argument, and much wit and humour, he points out the abſurdity of Parker's tenets. To this the doctor publiſhed an anſwer, but without his name; whereupon Mr. Marvell, in 1673, publiſhed, "A ſecond part of his Rehearſal tranſproſed;" occaſioned by two letters, the firſt, printed by a nameleſs author, intitled, "The Reproof, &c." the ſecond, left for Mr. Marvell at a friend's houſe, ſubſcribed J. G. and concluding with theſe words: "If thou dareſt to print or publiſh any lie or libel againſt doctor Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat." Several other anonymous pieces were publiſhed againſt Mr. Marvell in favour of Parker; but the patriot had ſo greatly the advantage, that he ſilenced the doctor, and humbled his whole party; for even the king himſelf, in behalf of whoſe unlimited power Parker had written, was charmed with the wit of Marvell's Rehearſal; and it was read with avidity by all ranks of people; ſo that the archdeacon, for very ſhame, was obliged to retire from London, and did not trouble the preſs again for many years.

Our ſteady and active friend to the intereſts of religious and civil liberty attended cloſely to the duties of his parliamentary truſt from this time to 1676, without engaging in controverſial writing; his hours of avocation from his attendance in parliament being chiefly employed in writing to his conſtituents, and to his particular

ticular friends, the moſt inſtructive and entertaining accounts of the affairs of the nation, and of the intrigues of the court. Theſe epiſtles, which are very curious, make part of his works, which highly merit the attention of every friend to the conſtitution of his country.

In the year above mentioned, Mr. Marvell publiſhed another controverſial piece, intitled, "Mr. Smirk, or the Divine in Mode, being certain Annotations on the Animadverſions on 'The Naked Truth.' Together with a ſhort hiſtorical Eſſay, concerning General Councils, Creeds, and Impoſitions in Matters of Religion." "The Naked Truth" had been written in favour of religious liberty, in oppoſition to the arrogant claims of aſſuming churchmen, and particularly againſt Dr. Turner, then maſter of St. John's College, Cambridge, a great defender of eccleſiaſtical tyranny, and the impoſition of human creeds and articles of faith: an anſwer to this book, under the title of "Animadverſions on the Naked Truth," appeared ſoon after its publication, but the writer was not known; however, it was ſuſpected to be his old antagoniſt Parker; therefore our author once more employed his maſterly pen in annotations upon the animadverſions of his adverſary, and ſilenced him a ſecond time.

Having now completed his victory over the advocates for eccleſiaſtical deſpotiſm, he reſolved to puſh the matter home upon adminiſtration, and to demonſtrate, that in conſequence of the principles maintained and propagated by thoſe zealous high-churchmen, Popery and arbitrary government had made a conſiderable progreſs lately in England. This gave birth to his admired hiſtorical and political treatiſe on the growth of Popery and arbitrary government in England; particularly from November 1675, when the parliament was prorogued, to the meeting of that national council in July 1677. In this work, the principles of our excellent conſtitution are clearly laid down, and the limited,

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legal authority of the kings of England is aſcertained; and it is proved, that the glory of the monarch, and the happineſs of the people, depend on a ſtrict, mutual obſervance of the laws preſcribed by the conſtitution. In comparing the ſovereigns of England with other potentates, he has this remarkable paſſage: "The kings of England are in nothing inferior to other princes, ſave in being more abridged from injuring their own ſubjects, but have as large a field as any of external felicity, wherein to exerciſe their own virtue, and to reward and encourage it in others. In ſhort, there is nothing that comes nearer the divine perfection, than where the monarch, as with us, enjoys a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a diſability to do all that is evil."

He likewiſe draws a ſtriking contraſt of the miſeries of a nation living under a Popiſh adminiſtration, oppoſed to the bleſſings enjoyed under a Proteſtant government; and a ſtronger proof cannot be given of the complexion of the politics of the court at that æra, than the diſguſt taken by the miniſtry to the free ſentiments contained in this book. It has been denied by ſome hiſtorians, that Charles II. either encouraged Popery, or governed arbitrarily: how then are we to account for the conduct of his miniſtry, reſpecting a publication, which tended to infuſe into the minds of his ſubjects juſt notions of their allegiance to their ſovereign, a veneration for the conſtitution of their country, and an attachment to the Proteſtant religion, as being the firm ſupport of that conſtitution?—It was ſtyled in the Gazette a ſcandalous libel, and a reward of one hundred pounds was offered for the diſcovery of the hander of it to the preſs, and of fifty for the author, printer, or publiſher: but it does not appear that any information was given in, either againſt the author, or any other perſons, for no proſecution enſued. But Mr. Marvell had now rendered himſelf ſo obnoxious to adminiſtration, to the venal friends of a corrupt court, and

and to the heir-apparent to the crown, James duke of York, afterwards James II. who was himſelf a bigotted Roman Catholic, that he was beſet on all ſides by powerful enemies, who watched all his motions, and even proceeded ſo far as to menace his life; which obliged him to uſe great caution, to appear ſeldom in public, and frequently to conceal the place of his abode; yet it is preſumed all his care proved ineffectual to preſerve him from their vengeance, for he died in Auguſt 1678, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of being poiſoned. The public, however, reaped the benefits of his patriotiſm the following year; for his ſpeeches in parliament, and his writings, had opened the eyes of ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, and thoſe who had been for many years obſequious to the court now formed a ſtrong oppoſition to its meaſures; ſo that the king ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity, in the beginning of the year 1679, to diſſolve this favourite aſſembly, which had ſat for eighteen years, one long prorogation excepted, and had incurred the odious epithet of "The Penſionary Parliament." The new parliament, which met in March 1679, ſeemed to have imbibed the ſentiments of the deceaſed patriot; the growth of Popery, the arbitrary meaſures of the miniſtry, and the expediency of excluding the duke of York from the ſucceſſion, were the chief objects that engaged their attention, which produced their diſſolution in the month of July, in the ſame year. But the ſpirit of civil liberty was now gone forth among the people, and the next parliament, which met in 1680, ſtill more ſteadily oppoſed the Popiſh ſucceſſion; and the ſame expedient to ward off this fatal blow was made uſe of; this parliament was likewiſe diſſolved in 1681, and no other was called during the remainder of the reign of Charles II. for a new race of patriots had ſprung up, as it were, from the aſhes of Andrew Marvell, whoſe meaſures againſt the court had ſuch an influence, that the miniſtry dreaded a new parliament; and though ſome of them

them fell a ſacrifice to their zeal, yet it may with great truth be aſſerted, that the vigorous oppoſition of Andrew Marvell, and of thoſe illuſtrious patriots who immediately ſucceeded him, and whoſe lives will be given in the courſe of this volume, laid the foundation of the glorious Revolution.

In 1688, the inhabitants of the town of Kingſton, upon Hull, to teſtify their grateful remembrance of Mr. Marvell's patriotic ſervices, collected a ſum of money to erect a monument over his grave, in the pariſh-church of St. Giles's in the Fields, London; but the bigotted rector would not ſuffer any monument, or inſcription, to be placed there; ſo that this laudable deſign was laid aſide. The epitaph drawn up on the occaſion is a manly compoſition; and it is hoped, that the inſertion of it, in THE BRITISH PLUTARCH, may, in ſome meaſure, anſwer the beſt uſe of monumental inſcriptions, that of exhibiting to the ſons and heirs of freedom a bright example of active and irreproachable patriotiſm.

Near this place
Lieth the body of ANDREW MARVELL, Eſq.
A man ſo endowed by nature,
So improved by education, ſtudy, and travel,
So conſummated by experience and learning;
That, joining the moſt peculiar grace of wit
With a ſingular penetration and ſtrength of judgment,
And exerciſing all theſe in the whole courſe of his life,
With unalterable ſteadineſs in the ways of virtue,
He became the ornament and example of his age;
Beloved by good men, feared by bad, admired by all;
Though imitated, alas! by few;
And ſcarce paralleled by any.
But a tomb-ſtone can neither contain his character,
Nor is marble neceſſary to tranſmit it to poſterity:
It is engraved on the minds of this generation,
And will be always legible in his inimitable writings.
Nevertheleſs,

Nevertheleſs,
He having ſerved near 20 years ſucceſſively in parliament,
And that with ſuch wiſdom, dexterity, integrity, & courage,
As became a true Patriot;
The town of Kingſton upon Hull,
From whence he was conſtantly deputed to that aſſembly,
Lamenting, in his death, the public loſs,
Have erected this monument of their grief and gratitude,
1688.
He died in the 58th year of his age,
On the 16th day of Auguſt 1678.

Heu fragile humanum genus! heu terreſtria vana!
Heu quam ſpectatum continet urna virum!

An elegant edition of the works of Andrew Marvell, in three volumes quarto, was publiſhed by captain Edward Thompſon, in 1776.

*** *Authorities.* Cooke's Life of Andrew Marvell prefixed to his works, in 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1727.—Macaulay's Hiſt. of England. Biog. Britan.

THE LIFE OF

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER,

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY,

Lord High Chancellor of ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1621, to 1683.]

THIS able and honeſt ſtateſman was the only ſon of Sir John Cooper, of Rockborn, in the county of Southampton, Bart. by Anne, daughter and ſole heireſs of Sir Anthony Aſhley, of Winborne St. Giles, in the county of Dorſet, Bart. where he was born in the year 1621.

His father dying before he was ten years of age, he ſucceeded to an eſtate of 8000l. per annum. Being a boy of uncommon parts, his guardians ſent him to Oxford at the age of fifteen, where he became a fellow-commoner of Exeter-college, under the tuition of the famous Dr. John Prideaux, who was then rector of it. He is ſaid to have ſtudied aſſiduouſly there for about two years: he then removed to Lincoln's Inn, where he applied himſelf, with great vigour, to the ſtudy of the law, and eſpecially to that part of it which gave him a perfect inſight into the conſtitution of this kingdom.

In the nineteenth year of his age, he was elected for Tewkſbury, in Glouceſterſhire, in the parliament which met at Weſtminſter on the thirteenth of April 1640.

The outlines of a true patriot, and of an able politician, were diſcovered very early in his lordſhip's character, by an amiable inſtance of his loyalty to his king, and of his regard for the public tranquillity; for at the beginning of the civil war, he repaired to Charles I. at Oxford, offered his aſſiſtance, and projected a ſcheme, not for ſubduing or conquering his country, but for reducing ſuch as had either deſerted or miſtaken their duty to his majeſty's obedience.

He was introduced to the king by lord Falkland, his friend, then ſecretary of ſtate, and preſented to him, as having ſomething to offer to his majeſty worthy of conſideration. At this audience he told the king, that he could put an end to the war, if his majeſty pleaſed, and would aſſiſt him in it. The king anſwered, That he was a very young man for ſo great an undertaking. "Sire (replied he), that will not be the worſe for your "affairs, provided I do the buſineſs." Whereupon the king ſhewing a willingneſs to hear him, he diſcourſed to him to this purpoſe:

"The gentlemen, and men of eſtates, who firſt engaged in this war, ſeeing now, after a year or two, that it ſeems to be no nearer an end than it was at firſt, and beginning

beginning to be weary of it, I am very well ſatisfied, would be glad to be in quiet at home again, if they could be aſſured of redreſs of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties ſecured to them. This, I am ſatisfied, is the preſent temper generally throughout England, and particularly in thoſe parts where my eſtate and concerns lie. If, therefore, your majeſty will impower me to treat with the parliament garriſons, to grant them a full and general pardon, with an aſſurance that a general amneſty, arms being laid down on both ſides, ſhall reinſtate all things in the ſame poſture they were before the war, and that then a free parliament ſhall do what more remains to be done for the ſettlement of the nation; in that caſe, I will begin and try the experiment in my own country, and I doubt not but the good ſucceſs I ſhall have there will open the gates of other adjoining garriſons, by bringing them the news of peace and ſecurity, on laying down their arms." The king appearing to accede to theſe propoſitions, and Sir Anthony being furniſhed with full power, according to his deſire, he repaired to Dorſetſhire, where he managed a treaty with the garriſons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorcheſter, and others; and was ſo ſucceſsful in it, that one of them was actually put into his hands, as the others were to have been in a few days: but prince Maurice, who commanded ſome of the king's forces, being with his army then in thoſe parts, no ſooner heard that the town was ſurrendered, but he preſently marched into it, and gave the pillage of it to the ſoldiers.

This Sir Anthony ſaw with the utmoſt diſpleaſure, and could not forbear expreſſing his reſentment to the prince, ſo that there paſſed ſome pretty hot words between them; but the violence was committed, and thereby his deſign broken. All that he could do was to ſend to the other garriſons he was in treaty with, to ſtand upon their guard, for that he could not ſecure his ar-

ticles to them: and ſo this deſign proved abortive, and died in ſilence.

Sir Anthony, it is ſaid, ſoon after projected another ſcheme in conjunction with ſerjeant Fountain, to terminate the war; which was, that the gentlemen of all the counties in England ſhould arm the countrymen, and endeavour to ſuppreſs both armies; and this plan being partly carried into execution gave riſe to the third army called the *Clubmen*, who ſtruck ſo much terror into the armies of both the king and the parliament, that the former never forgave Sir Anthony. If all the leaders in this project had been true to their engagements, and had riſen at the appointed time, it is thought they would have carried their point; but, ſome of them failing, it miſcarried.

Sir Anthony was afterwards invited to Oxford by a letter from his majeſty; but perceiving that he was not confided in, that his behaviour was diſliked, and his perſon in danger, he retired to the parliament quarters, and ſoon after went up to London, where he was well received by that party, to which he then adhered. He accepted a commiſſion from the parliament, and, raiſing forces in Dorſetſhire, took Wareham by ſtorm in 1644; and ſoon after reduced all the adjacent parts.

In 1646, he was ſheriff of Wiltſhire. In 1651, he was one of the committee of twenty, appointed to conſider of ways and means for reforming the law. He was alſo one of the members of the convention that met after Cromwell had turned out the Long Parliament, in 1653.

He was again member of parliament in 1654, and one of the principal perſons who ſigned the famous proteſtation, charging the protector with tyranny and arbitrary government; and he always oppoſed the illegal meaſures of that arbitrary uſurper to the utmoſt.

When the protector Richard was depoſed, and the Rump came again into power, they nominated Sir Anthony

thony one of their council of ſtate, and a commiſſioner for managing the army, But he was at that very time engaged in a ſecret correſpondence with the friends of king Charles II. and was greatly inſtrumental in promoting his reſtoration.

By this may be eaſily decerned the opinion he had of the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of Oliver Cromwell, and how much of the ſufferings of the royal party would have been prevented, had the point of a free parliament, which he always contended for, been then gained. His majeſty's reſtoration muſt have been the natural conſequence of it. The conſtant correſpondence he always kept up with the royal party, to the hazard of his life and fortune, are ſufficient teſtimonies of his ſincerity to the royal intereſt and ſervice; ſo far as that was at all conſiſtent with the rights and intereſts of the people.

In ſhort, he was ſo ſtrenuous in oppoſing the authority of the protectors, father and ſon, that we find him accuſed before the parliament, in the year 1659, for keeping intelligence with the king, and for having provided a force of men in Dorſetſhire, to join with Sir George Booth, in attempting to reſtore his majeſty to the throne. After the reſignation of Richard Cromwell, he was one of the nine of the old council of ſtate who ſent the letter to general Monk, to encourage him in his deſign of accompliſhing the Reſtoration.

He was likewiſe in the liſt of that council of ſtate, conſiſting of thirty-nine, upon whom an oath was endeavoured to be impoſed for the abjuration of the royal line; but by his influence, and general Monk's, over colonel Morley, that oath was oppoſed in council, as being a ſnare, and againſt their conſciences. This was ſtrongly pleaded by the moderate part of the council, whereof this great patriot was one; and thus an end was put to that oath, and to the council choſen only for that purpoſe.

He was returned a member for Dorſetſhire in that

which was called the Healing Parliament, which ſat upon the twenty-fifth of April 1660; and a reſolution being taken to reſtore the conſtitution, he was named one of the twelve members of the houſe of commons to carry their invitation to the king. It was in performing this ſervice that he had the misfortune to be overturned in a carriage upon a Dutch road, and thereby to receive a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was lord-chancellor.

But though Sir Anthony was greatly inſtrumental in forwarding the Reſtoration, it ought to be remembered to his honour, that he was for preſcribing conditions to the king, and even propoſed that he ſhould be obliged to ſign the treaty offered to his father in the iſle of Wight, for the ſecurity of the rights and privileges of the ſubjects; but in this he was over-ruled by Monk.

Upon the king's coming over, he was ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council. He was alſo one of the commiſſioners for the trial of the regicides; and he has been much cenſured for his acceptance of this office.

By letters patent, dated April 20. 1661. he was created baron Aſhley, of Winborn St. Giles's: ſoon after he was made chancellor and under-treaſurer of the exchequer, and then one of the lords commiſſioners for executing the office of high-treaſurer. He was afterwards made lord-lieutenant of the county of Dorſet; and, on the twenty-third of April 1672, created baron Cooper, of Pawlet, in the county of Somerſet, and earl of Shafteſbury.

At this time, his conduct as a miniſter of ſtate is greatly cenſured, becauſe he was one of that junto, known by the name of the *Cabal*; being ſo ſtyled from the initial letters of their titles. C,lifford, A,ſhley, B,uckingham, A,rlington, and L,auderdale; but he had no concern in ſome of their moſt iniquitous meaſures.

In

In the month of November, the ſame year, he was raiſed to the dignity of lord-high-chancellor of England; an office for which he was eminently qualified, as well by his great knowledge of the laws and conſtitution of his country, as by his powers of elocution and eloquence, which enabled him to make a great and diſtinguiſhed figure in this important poſt, the duties of which he diſcharged with uncommon ability, and the utmoſt integrity. Yet he held the ſeals but a ſhort time, the king having thought proper to remove him in November 1673. And the following account is given of the manner of his reſignation by Echard, in his Hiſtory of England. "Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, the earl was ſent for on Sunday morning to court; as was alſo Sir Heneage Finch, attorney-general, to whom the ſeals were promiſed. As ſoon as the earl came, he retired with the king into the cloſet, while the prevailing party waited in triumph, to ſee him return without the purſe. His lordſhip, being alone with the king, ſaid, "Sire, I know you intend to give the ſeals to the attorney-general, but I am ſure your majeſty never intended to diſmiſs me with contempt." The king, who could not do an ill-natured thing, replied, "God's fiſh, my lord, I will not do it with any circumſtance that may look like an affront." "Then, Sire (ſaid the earl), I deſire your majeſty will permit me to carry the ſeals before you to chapel, and then ſend for them afterwards from my houſe." To this his majeſty readily conſented; and the earl amuſed the king with news and entertaining ſtories till the very minute he was to go to chapel, purpoſely to deceive the courtiers and his ſucceſſor, who he believed was upon the rack, for fear he ſhould prevail upon the king to change his mind.

The king and the earl came out of the cloſet, talking together and ſmiling, and went together to chapel, which greatly ſurpriſed them all; and ſome ran immediately to tell the duke of York, that all their meaſures were

were broken. After ſermon, the earl went home with the ſeals; and that evening the king gave them to the attorney-general."

After he had quitted the court, he continued to make a great figure in parliament; and, in 1675, the lord-treaſurer Danby introduced the teſt-bill into the houſe of lords, which was vigorouſly oppoſed by the earl of Shafteſbury, who, if we may believe biſhop Burnet, diſtinguiſhed himſelf more in this ſeſſion than ever he had done before. This diſpute occaſioned a prorogation, and there enſued a receſs of fifteen months.

When the parliament met again on the ſixteenth of February 1677, the duke of Buckingham argued that it ought to be conſidered as diſſolved. The earl of Shafteſbury was of the ſame opinion, and maintained it with ſo much warmth, that himſelf, the duke, the earl of Saliſbury, and the lord Wharton, were ſent to the Tower, where he continued for thirteen months, becauſe he would make no ſubmiſſion; though the other lords, upon their ſubmiſſion, were immediately diſcharged.

When he was ſet at liberty, he managed the oppoſition to the earl of Danby's adminiſtration with ſuch vigour and dexterity, that it was found impoſſible to do any thing effectually in parliament, without changing the ſyſtem which then prevailed.

The king, who deſired nothing ſo much as to be eaſy, reſolved to make a change, diſmiſſed all the privy-council at once, and formed a new one. This was declared on the twenty-firſt of April 1679; and, at the ſame time, the earl of Shafteſbury was appointed lord-preſident. He did not hold this new honour longer than ſix months. He had drawn upon himſelf the implacable hatred of the duke of York, by ſteadily promoting, if not originally inventing, the project of an excluſion-bill; and therefore no wonder if a party was conſtantly at work againſt him.

Upon the king's ſummoning a parliament to meet at Oxford

Oxford on the twenty-firſt of March 1681, the earl of Shafteſbury joined with ſeveral lords in a petition to prevent its meeting there; which, however, failed of ſucceſs. He was preſent at that parliament, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported the excluſion-bill; but the duke of York, and his friends, ſoon contrived to make him feel the weight of his reſentment; for the Popiſh zealots in his intereſt, who apprehended that as long as this noble patriot lived, their grand ſcheme of introducing the Roman Catholic religion, and arbitrary power into the government of England, would not take effect, having failed in various attempts to take him off privately, attempted it publicly, by preſenting a bill of indictment againſt him to the grand jury at the Old-bailey; but after examining the witneſſes in open court, the jury threw out the bill, and he was diſcharged from his impriſonment in the Tower, where he had been confined from July to November 1682, on this malicious and groundleſs charge. Great rejoicings were made at his acquittal, and a medal was ſtruck upon the occaſion.

His lordſhip now juſtly apprehending, that his perſon was not ſecure in his native country, his bittereſt enemies being now in the zenith of their power, he reſolved to ſeek for ſome place of retirement, where, out of the reach of their endeavours to injure him, he might wear out the ſmall remainder of his life in peace. It was with this view that he embarked for Holland ſoon after his diſcharge: and arriving ſafely at Amſterdam, after a very dangerous voyage, he took a houſe there, propoſing to live in a manner ſuitable to his quality, being viſited by perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and treated with all the deference and reſpect he could deſire: but being ſeized by his old diſtemper, the gout, it immediately flew up into his ſtomach, and ſoon became mortal; ſo that he expired on the twenty-ſecond of January 1683.

His body, being embalmed, was brought to England,

land, and interred with his anceſtors at Winborne St. Giles; and, in 1732, a noble monument, with an inſcription highly to his honour, was erected by the late earl of Shafteſbury.

It was a misfortune to this noble perſonage, that thoſe who were his profeſſed enemies have tranſmitted to poſterity the hiſtory of the times in which he lived, and of that government in which he had ſo large a ſhare: and this may, in ſome meaſure, account for his not making a very amiable figure in hiſtory; ſo that, while his prodigious abilities ſtand confeſſed by all, the goodneſs and integrity of his intentions are hardly acknowledged by any. It is alſo not to be imagined, at this diſtance of time, what arts and contrivances were ſet on foot by his enemies, in his lifetime, to render his name odious and deteſtable.

Marchmont Nedham is ſaid to have been employed to abuſe and defame the earl of Shafteſbury; and particularly in a quarto pamphlet, intitled, "A Pacquet of Advices, and Animadverſions, ſent from London to the Men of Shafteſbury; which is of uſe for all his Majeſty's Subjects in the Three Kingdoms." Lond. 1676. And this abuſe is transferred, verbatim, into the account given of this noble perſon by Anthony Wood, the Oxford hiſtorian.

The earl of Shafteſbury was alſo repreſented as having had the vanity to expect to be choſen king of Poland; and this made way for calling him *Count Tapſky*, alluding to the tap which had been applied upon the breaking out of the ulcer between his ribs when he was lord-chancellor. It was alſo a ſtanding-jeſt, with the lower form of wits, to ſtyle him Shiftſbury, inſtead of Shafteſbury; his lordſhip being too much addicted to women; and it is recorded, that king Charles II. who would both take liberties and bear them, once ſaid to the earl at court, in a vein of raillery and good-humour, and in reference only to his amours, "I believe, Shafteſbury, thou art the wickedeſt fellow in my dominions

nions:" to which, with a low bow, and very grave face, the earl replied, "May it pleaſe your majeſty, of a *ſubject* I believe I am." At which the merry monarch laughed moſt heartily.

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Hume's Hiſtory of England.

THE LIFE OF

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

[A. D. 1622, to 1683.]

Including Memoirs of WILLIAM LORD RUSSELL.

THIS illuſtrious politician and patriot was the ſecond ſon of Robert earl of Leiceſter, by his wife Dorothy, the eldeſt daughter of Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland. He was born about the year 1622: His noble father gave great attention to his education, even in his early years; and, in 1632, when he went ambaſſador to Denmark, he took his ſon with him; as alſo when he was ſent in the ſame capacity to the court of France in 1636; and, at that time, his lively acute genius began to diſplay itſelf: and an active part in life ſeeming to be beſt ſuited to the bent of his natural diſpoſition, his father, upon being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, procured him a commiſſion for a troop of horſe in his own regiment, in 1641. Upon which he repaired to that kingdom, accompanied by his elder brother, Philip lord viſcount Liſle, who acted as deputy to his father: The Iriſh rebellion had then broken out; and Algernon Sydney upon many occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf with great bravery.

In 1643, he had the king's permiſſion to return to England,

England, with his brother, lord Liſle, but with expreſs orders to repair, without loſs of time, to his majeſty at Oxford; of which the parliament having intelligence, they were both taken into cuſtody upon their landing at ſome port in Lancaſhire. The king ſuſpected that they had thrown themſelves voluntarily into the hands of his enemies, and expreſſed his reſentment at their behaviour; and the event ſeemed to juſtify the king's ſurmiſes; for, from this time, they adhered to the intereſt of the parliament; and Algernon accepted a captain's commiſſion in the earl of Mancheſter's regiment of horſe in 1644; and, in 1645, he was raiſed to the rank of colonel of a regiment of cavalry by general Fairfax.

In a ſhort time his brother, lord Liſle, being appointed by the parliament lieutenant-general of Ireland, and commander in chief of the parliamentary forces in that kingdom, he ſerved on an expedition there, under his brother, where he performed ſuch ſignal military exploits, that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general of the horſe in Ireland, and made governor of Dublin. But the government of the capital being thought too weighty a concern for ſo young a man, it was taken from him in 1647, and given to colonel Jones, a ſenior officer. However, upon his return to England, he received the thanks of the houſe of commons for his good ſervices in Ireland; and a reſolution being made that he ſhould receive a ſuitable recompence, he was ſoon after made governor of Dover-caſtle. In 1648, he was nominated one of the members of the high-court of juſtice, appointed to try Charles I.; but it is certain that he did not act in that capacity, for he neither ſat in judgment upon the king, nor does his name appear in the warrant for his execution; yet he was a zealous republican on patriotic principles, and always profeſſed to make Marcus Brutus his model; ſo that, when Cromwell uſurped the ſupreme authority, he oppoſed him with great violence; and could not be prevailed

prevailed upon to accept of any employment civil or military under either of the protectors.

It is conjectured by ſome writers, that he abſented himſelf from the trial of Charles I. in compliance with his father's requeſt, whoſe political principles led him to diſapprove of that tranſaction; which his ſon vindicated afterwards in a converſation at Copenhagen, by ſaying, "it was the juſteſt action that ever was done in England, or any where elſe;" but in juſtice to this conſiſtent patriot, let us obſerve, that when the univerſity of Copenhagen brought their *album* to him (a book with blank leaves, in which they deſire learned ſtrangers to write whatever they think proper), Algernon Sydney wrote the following lines, and ſigned his name to them.

——*Manus hæc inimica tyrannis*
Enſe petit placidam ſub libertate quietem.

From theſe ſentiments, compared with the reſolute part he acted in the cauſe of civil liberty, for which he died, we may fairly conclude, that if any well-concerted plan had been formed for depoſing Oliver Cromwell, or for putting him to death, as a juſt puniſhment for his uſurpation, Sydney would have joined hand and heart in carrying it into execution.

After Richard Cromwell had reſigned the protectorſhip, Sydney really believing that the remnant of the Long Parliament would eſtabliſh a republican form of government, moſt willingly engaged in the adminiſtration of public affairs; and, in May 1659, was nominated by the parliament to be one of the council of ſtate; and the following month he was appointed one of the three commiſſioners who were ſent to the Sound to mediate a peace between the kings of Denmark and Sweden.

Upon the reſtoration of Charles II. Mr. Sydney was adviſed by his friends to avail himſelf of his father's intereſt with the king, and to get his name inſerted in

the act of oblivion paſſed upon that occaſion; but he refuſed it, and continued an exile in different parts of Europe ſeventeen years. His longeſt reſidence was at Rome, and in its environs, where he received great civilities from perſons of the firſt rank, and was highly eſteemed for his courage, wit, and learning. Tired of paying and receiving viſits, and wiſhing to withdraw himſelf more from the world, he left Italy, and went to Switzerland, where he ſtaid a ſhort time with general Ludlow, and his other friends and companions in exile. He afterwards went to France; and it is ſaid, that when he was hunting one day with Louis XIV. that monarch took great notice of a fine Engliſh hunter upon which Mr. Sydney was mounted, and afterwards ſent a meſſage to him, to requeſt him to yield it to him at any price he thought proper to fix upon it. Sydney anſwered, "he did not chuſe to part with his horſe;" upon which the king, unuſed to ſuch denials, gave peremptory orders to tender him a proper ſum of money, and, in caſe of refuſal, to ſeize the horſe. Sydney, informed of theſe orders, inſtantly took a piſtol and ſhot him, ſaying, "his horſe was born a free creature, had ſerved a free man, and ſhould not be maſtered by a king of ſlaves."

In the year 1677, the earl of Leiceſter, being deſirous to ſee his ſon Algernon before he died, obtained from the king a ſpecial pardon for all paſt offences; and he returned home at the very critical juncture when the parliament urged the king to a war againſt France; and as he came laſt from that country, and now took great pains to diſſuade his countrymen from preſſing adminiſtration to declare war, ſome ſhallow politicians conceived him to be in the pay and intereſt of France: but Sydney had the moſt laudable motives for giving this advice: he had in fact been a ſpy upon the ſecret negociations of the Engliſh miniſtry and the court of France, and had the moſt authentic intelligence, that a perfect good underſtanding ſubſiſted between the two crowns, and that all the pretended eagerneſs of the Engliſh miniſtry

niſtry to go to war was only calculated to raiſe large ſupplies, which were afterwards to be applied to the ſupport of the extravagant expences of the Engliſh court: and if any man at this time was in treaty for a penſion from France, it was Charles II. himſelf, who cared little how he came by money, if he had but ſufficient to maintain his miſtreſſes, and to keep his favourite courtiers in good humour.

Mr. Sydney's father dying ſoon after he arrived in England, he was under no farther reſtraint with reſpect to his political ſentiments and conduct; and, being unable to ſuppreſs his indignation at the duplicity of adminiſtration, he was ſoon noticed by the emiſſaries of the miniſtry, and a reſolution was taken to compaſs the ruin of ſuch a formidable adverſary; and in this ſcheme the duke of York's party heartily concurred, for they deteſted his very name, as ominous to their cauſe.—Great intereſt was made to keep him out of parliament in 1678, when he ſtood candidate for Guildford: he loſt his election by court influence; and though he carried it in the next parliament, a double return was made by the ſame influence, and it was decided againſt him in the houſe.

But, not content with this ſucceſs, it was reſolved to ſacrifice him and lord William Ruſſell to the ſafety of a corrupt, venal adminiſtration; theſe illuſtrious patriots having rendered themſelves very obnoxious to the court, by oppoſing the arbitrary proceedings of the king and his miniſters, and by their zeal in promoting the bill for excluding the duke of York from the throne. They were known to be intimate friends, and it was no ſecret that they aſſociated with the earl of Shafteſbury, and other malecontents, who frequently met together to conſult on the meaſures proper to be taken to prevent the imminent danger the church and ſtate would be in from a Popiſh ſucceſſor: and at theſe meetings ſome perſons had gone ſo far, as to propoſe exciting inſurrections, as no hopes remained of obtaining parliamentary

redreſs for the many grievances the nation laboured under; and on this laſt circumſtance he was indicted for high-treaſon. Lord William Ruſſell was the third, and, at the time he was accuſed, the only ſurviving ſon of William the fifth earl, and firſt duke of Bedford, and, in order to ſtrike the greater terror into the oppoſing party, the court began with him. He had taken an active part in the houſe of commons againſt the duke of York and the Papiſts: he had carried up a vote againſt the duke for the concurrence of the houſe of lords: he had preſented the excluſion-bill to that houſe, and, upon its being thrown out, he made an eloquent ſpeech at the bar of the houſe of lords, lamenting the conduct of that houſe, and juſtifying the lower-houſe, of which he was a member, for paſſing the bill; and he had joined with other friends to the Proteſtant cauſe, in preſenting reaſons to the grand jury of Middleſex for indicting the duke of York as a Papiſt. Theſe were more than ſufficient cauſes for devoting him to deſtruction; accordingly an opportunity offered ſoon after the diſcovery of the real, or pretended Rye-houſe plot, in June 1683.

This plot is ſaid to have been formed, by the Preſbyterians of the republican party, and by ſome zealous men of eminence in the church of England, who dreaded the Popiſh ſucceſſion. The deſign was to kill, or to ſeize upon the king, as he paſſed through the incloſures of a farm called the *Rye-houſe*, in his way from Newmarket to London, which he uſually did, to avoid the public road. It is added, that a fire happening at Newmarket, the king returned ſooner to London than was expected, and before the conſpirators were prepared to execute this baſe aſſaſſination. A proclamation was iſſued on the 23d of June, for apprehending Rumbold, a maltſter, the owner of the farm, and ſeveral officers and gentlemen, who were ſaid to be the principal conſpirators; and on the 28th lord Howard of Eſcric, a man of abandoned life and character, pretending

ing to be one of the conſpirators, and offering to turn crown evidence, was accepted in that capacity, upon his accuſing lord William Ruſſell, and promiſing to make good the charge: whereupon lord Ruſſell was apprehended and ſent to the Tower. And ſoon after the ſame worthleſs evidence, was prevailed upon to accuſe Algernon Sydney, who was likewiſe taken into cuſtody by a meſſenger, and at the ſame time one of the clerks of the privy-council ſeized all his papers.

But, for the reaſons already aſſigned, lord Ruſſell's trial was expedited without delay. It was brought on at the Old-bailey, on the thirteenth of July: he was indicted of conſpiring to excite inſurrection and rebellion in the kingdom; of compaſſing and imagining the death of the king; and of plotting with other traitors to ſeize his majeſty's guards, &c. And ſo determined were the miniſtry not to let this victim eſcape, that the moſt unjuſtifiable methods were taken to convict him precipitately. He deſired to have his trial put off till the next day, becauſe ſome material witneſſes could not be in town till late at night; this being refuſed, he requeſted it might be delayed till the afternoon, which was likewiſe denied. He challenged the foreman of the jury, but in that alſo he was over-ruled. The only evidences againſt him were lord Howard, and colonel Rumſey, another conſpirator, who was pardoned by the king; and the whole of their joint-evidence proved no more, than that lord Ruſſell had walked up and down in a room in the houſe of one Shepherd, while ſome perſons held a diſcourſe about ſeizing the king's guards; but it was not pretended that he either joined company with them, or uttered a ſingle word.

In order to invalidate lord Howard's evidence, the earl of Angleſey depoſed, on behalf of lord Ruſſell, that about a week before he had met lord Howard at the duke of Bedford's, where he had declared to the duke, that he knew nothing againſt his ſon, or any body elſe concerned in the plot; and biſhop Burnet corroborated

the earl of Angleſey's evidence, by declaring, that lord Howard had been with him the night after the plot was diſcovered, and he did then, as he had done before, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, ſay, "he knew nothing of any plot, nor believed any," and treated it with great ſcorn and contempt. Mr. Howard, a relation of lord Howard's, related a converſation with lord Howard to the ſame purport, and added theſe remarkable words: "If my lord Howard has the ſame ſoul on Monday, that he had on Sunday, this cannot be true that he ſwears againſt my lord Ruſſell. I am very ſorry to hear any man of my name guilty of theſe things."

It was evident to every impartial perſon in the court, that the teſtimony of lord Howard did not deſerve the leaſt degree of credit; yet the jury, who were packed for the purpoſe, brought him in guilty of high-treaſon; and though the moſt powerful intereſt was made to ſave him, it had no effect; for he could not be brought to make an open declaration in favour of the principle of non-reſiſtance, which was what the court wanted from a man of his family and intereſt; and his firmneſs in refuſing life, on conditions which he could not reconcile to his conſcience, determines his character, and gives him rank with the firſt of patriots. It was part of his political creed, "that a free nation, like England, might defend their religion and liberty when invaded, or taken from them, though under pretence of colour of law;" and, in ſupport of this tenet, he ſuffered death; being beheaded on a ſcaffold, erected for that purpoſe, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Saturday the 21ſt of July 1683.

The general outcry againſt the jury, who had condemned lord Ruſſell on the inſufficient and corrupt evidence of lord Howard, made the court more wary in their proceedings againſt Algernon Sydney, and therefore his trial was delayed till other meaſures, ſtill more arbitrary and illegal, had been taken to ſecure his

his condemnation. But at length, their ſcheme being ripe for execution, he was indicted for high-treaſon, and brought to his trial in the court of King's-bench, before the lord chief-juſtice Jefferies, on the 21ſt of November 1683. The three firſt witneſſes againſt him were, Robert Weſt, colonel Rumſey, and Mr. Keeling, whoſe evidence amounted only to reports from others. Mr. Sydney juſtly objected to the illegality of admitting ſuch evidence, but in vain; for the judge took it down, and delivered it as part of the proofs againſt him, in ſumming up the evidence to the jury. Lord Howard then ſwore poſitively, that Mr. Sydney was preſent at two meetings, when ſchemes had been formed for exciting inſurrections againſt the government; and that he had been concerned in ſending one Aaron Smith into Scotland, to engage the diſaffected in that country to join the malecontents in England; but, apprehenſive that the jury might not give ſufficient credit to the exploded evidence of this worthleſs nobleman, the attorney-general had recourſe to a moſt ſhameful expedient, which ought not to have had the leaſt weight with the jury. This was to produce a paſſage from his excellent diſcourſes on government, in proof of his deſign to perſuade the people of England to ſet aſide their ſovereign, whenever it ſhould appear to them that he had violated the truſt with which they themſelves had inveſted him. Thus a general principle, advanced in a political treatiſe, was conſtrued into a ſeditious and traitorous libel againſt the reigning prince, and made part of the evidence in a charge of high-treaſon againſt the author: no parallel inſtance can be found in our hiſtory of ſuch a perverſion of the law of evidence.—Mr. Sydney made a ſhort, manly defence, chiefly remonſtrating againſt the unwarrantable ſtep of bringing his writings in evidence againſt him, and offering the moſt ſolid reaſons againſt giving any credit to the teſtimony of lord Howard; who, ſince he had been in priſon, had called at his houſe, and told his ſervant that he

was

was ſorry Mr. Sydney ſhould be brought into danger on account of this plot, and did then ſwear in the preſence of God, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, that he did not believe in any plot, and that it was but a ſham. The earl of Angleſey, lord Clare, lord Paget, Mr. Philip, and Mr. Edward Howard, and Dr. Burnet, again confirmed the declaration that lord Howard had made to them, denying, in the moſt ſolemn manner, his knowledge of any plot, or of any perſons concerned in it; but all to no purpoſe, for the jury being packed, as in the caſe of lord Ruſſell, he was brought in guilty; and the uſual ſentence was paſſed upon him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which, as a ſpecial favour, was changed to beheading. He ſuffered on Tower-hill, the 7th of December 1683, and met death with heroic fortitude. His remains were interred the next day at Penſhurſt in Kent, among thoſe of his noble anceſtors.

He left behind him, "Diſcourſes upon Government." The firſt edition of which was publiſhed in 1698, the ſecond in 1704, in folio. To the ſecond was added the paper he delivered to the ſheriffs on the ſcaffold: but the beſt edition is the very elegant one in 4to, publiſhed in 1772, at the expence of the late Thomas Hollis, Eſq. a gentleman, who, in a private ſtation, rendered himſelf remarkably uſeful to his country, by reviving and encouraging public virtue, and patriotic independent principles. This edition, which was reviſed, corrected, and much improved, by the reverend Mr. Robertſon, contains his letters, his trial, and ſome memoirs of his life, not to be found in the former.

Sydney's diſcourſes on government have been conſidered, by many learned men, as an ample compenſation for the loſs of Cicero's ſix books *de Republica;* and, as they are adapted to the genius of the Britiſh conſtitution, they undoubtedly merit the attention of every ſtudious Engliſhman.

In the ſecond volume of Sir John Dalrymple's "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," publiſhed in 1773,

charges

charges are brought againſt the conduct and characters both of lord Ruſſell and Algernon Sydney. Theſe charges are, that lord Ruſſell intrigued with the court of Verſailles, and that Algernon Sydney took money from it. The papers on which theſe charges are grounded, we are informed by Sir John Dalrymple, are to be found in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangeres* at Verſailles, and were written by M. Barillon, ambaſſador from the court of France, to that of England, in the reign of king Charles the Second. In 1773, was publiſhed, by Dr. Towers, "An Examination into the Nature and Evi-"dence of the Charges brought againſt Lord William "Ruſſell and Algernon Sydney, by Sir John Dalrymple, "Bart. in his Memoirs of Great Britain." In this piece, the author remarks, that, "Ruſſell and Sydney were "condemned in their own time without law, and with-"out juſtice. Let not (ſays he), poſterity condemn "them, but on the fulleſt evidence." He ſhews, that of the truth of the charges againſt them, or of the authenticity of the papers on which they are grounded, no proper evidence has yet been produced; and of the charge againſt lord Ruſſell, he obſerves, that admitting the whole of what is ſtated in Dalrymple's papers to be true, it does not appear, that lord Ruſſell had any private views to anſwer by his negociation with the French miniſter, or that he promoted any meaſures which he conſidered as detrimental to the intereſts of his country. Of lord Ruſſell, Dr. Towers farther ſays, that, "He was not more diſtinguiſhed by his noble "birth than by his many amiable qualities, and the "excellency of his character. He was a dutiful ſon, an "affectionate huſband, and a tender parent; generally "beloved and eſteemed for his benevolence, integrity, "and honour; and indeed his perſonal virtues were "acknowledged even by his enemies. His noble birth, "and the amiableneſs of his character, together with "his zeal for the cauſe of public freedom, placed him "at the head of the Whig intereſt in the houſe of com-

"mons;

" mons; and, in this capacity, he diſcovered the moſt " extreme ſolicitude for the religion and liberties of his " country, at a time when they were expoſed to attacks " of the moſt dangerous and alarming nature."

Of Algernon Sydney, Dr. Towers ſays, " He was a " man of fine genius, ſtudious, and learned, and of ele- " vated ſentiments; and ever animated by a generous " ardour in defence of the liberties of his country, and " the common rights of mankind. One of the moſt re- " markable features in Sydney's character was a noble- " neſs and dignity of ſoul, which appeared ſo ſtrongly " in his actions, and in his writings, as to render it im- " poſſible for us to believe, but upon the fulleſt and " moſt certain evidence, that any temptation could " prevail on him to act in a diſhonourable or unworthy " manner. His high ſpirit appears even in his letters to " his father, the earl of Leiceſter; who ſometimes cen- " ſured him for imprudence, in avowing his ſentiments " with an openneſs and freedom that were manifeſtly " prejudicial to him. But he had a ſoul above diſguiſe, " and ſuperior to the little arts of intereſted men.

" In a letter to one of his friends in England, written " when he was in exile, are the following expreſſions:" —" Whilſt I live, I will endeavour to preſerve my li- " berty; or, at leaſt, not conſent to the deſtroying it. " I hope I ſhall die in the ſame principles in which I " have lived, and I will live no longer than they can " preſerve me. I have in my life been guilty of many " follies; but, as I think, of no meanneſs. I will not " blot and defile that which is paſt, by endeavouring " to provide for the future. I have ever had in my " mind, that, when God ſhould caſt me into ſuch a " condition, as that I cannot ſave my life, but by do- " ing an indecent thing, he ſhews me the time is come " wherein I ſhould reſign it."—" Shall we haſtily be- " lieve of the man capable of theſe ſentiments, and the " general tenor of whoſe life appears to have corre- " ſponded with them, that he could be prevailed upon

" to

" to take money from the court of France for an un-
" worthy purpoſe? and when the inflexibility of his
" ſpirit, in matters in which he believed himſelf to be
" right, would not ſuffer him meanly to ſupplicate even
" his own father for money, or in the leaſt to recede
" from his principles, when reduced to the greateſt
" ſtraits, and in a foreign country?"

Even admitting the papers publiſhed by Sir John Dalrymple to be genuine, and the facts contained in them to be true, which has never yet been proved, it does not appear, that he was engaged in any tranſactions unfavourable to the liberties of his country. After the time in which the money is ſaid to have been paid to Sydney, the French miniſter, Barillon, who is ſtated to have paid it, ſays, in one of his diſpatches to the French court, as publiſhed by Dalrymple, " The Sieur
" Algernon Sydney is a man of great views, and very
" high deſigns, which tend to the eſtabliſhment of a
" republic." And in another letter, he ſays, that Mr. Sydney " always appeared to him to have the ſame
" ſentiments, and not to have changed maxims."

The characters of Algernon Sydney and lord Ruſſell were alſo defended againſt the accuſations brought by Sir John Dalrymple, in an Introduction to the Letters of Lady Ruſſell, publiſhed in 4to. in 1773.

*** *Authorities.* General Biog. Dict. Memoirs prefixed to the edition of Sydney's works, by Mr. Hollis. Towers's Examination into the Nature and Evidence of the Charges brought againſt lord William Ruſſell and Algernon Sydney, 8vo. 1773.

THE

THE LIFE OF

JAMES BUTLER,

DUKE OF ORMOND.

[A. D. 1610, to 1686.]

JAMES BUTLER, the ſeventh earl, and firſt duke of Ormond, was born in 1610, and at the age of three years was carried over into Ireland.

In 1619, his father Thomas, eldeſt ſon of Walter, earl of Ormond, being drowned in his paſſage to England, he was called lord James, as heir apparent of his grandfather. The year afterwards he was brought by his mother to England, and lived, for a ſhort time with a Popiſh ſchool-maſter, who bred him in the errors of the Romiſh Church till the acceſſion of king James, who, conſidering him as a ward of the crown, placed him in the houſe of archbiſhop Abbot: but his majeſty, having at that time ſeized upon his grandfather's eſtate, allowed him only forty pounds a-year for the ſupport of himſelf and his ſervant; and made the archbiſhop no allowance for his maintenance or education. By the archbiſhop he is ſaid to have been firſt inſtructed in the principles of the Proteſtant religion, to which he adhered to his death.

At the age of ſixteen he left Lambeth, and lived with his grandfather, who had recovered his liberty and a great part of his eſtate: and being now no longer confined to his former penurious allowance, he engaged in the amuſements and diverſions of young men, and was particularly delighted with the performances of the theatre; ſo that moſt of the eminent players had the honour of his acquaintance: but he did not loſe in his diverſion that regard to his fortune and intereſt which becomes a rational and prudent mind; for ſeeing the eſtate of lord Preſton, which had been with ſo much violence

violence forced from the houſe of Ormond, now wholly devolved to an heireſs, he found means of marrying her, and ſo put an end to the differences which had given ſo much diſturbance to both families, and by which his grandfather had ſeverely ſuffered.

In 1632, about two years after his marriage, he became, by the death of his grandfather, earl of Ormond; and, being naturally of an active and enterpriſing character, ſoon engaged in public affairs; and by the countenance of the earl of Strafford, then lord-deputy of Ireland, he took an active part in the Iriſh houſe of peers.

The regard which the deputy, who was remarkably well qualified to judge of men, always thought proper to ſhew him, was begun by a very odd occurrence. The animoſity in the Iriſh parliament had riſen ſo high, that there was danger leſt their debates ſhould terminate in blood; and leſt, as it has been related of Poliſh aſſemblies, they ſhould appeal from argument to the ſword. For this reaſon, the lord-deputy publiſhed a proclamation, by which he forbade any man to ſit in either houſe with his ſword; a precaution which had been uſed in former times.

When the lords therefore entered the houſe, their ſwords were delivered by them at the door to the uſher of the black rod, who ſtood ready to receive them; but, when the earl of Ormond was about to enter, he refuſed to deliver his ſword; and told the uſher, who enforced his demand with ſome rudeneſs, "That, if he had his ſword, it ſhould be in his body." The deputy, imagining his authority treated, by this refuſal, with contempt, ſent for the earl, and demanded the reaſon of his diſobedience; but was anſwered, by being preſented with the writ in which he was ſummoned, as earl of Ormond, to ſit in parliament, girded with a ſword. The deputy had nothing ready to offer as a reply, and the earl therefore was diſmiſſed, not only without cenſure, but with ſuch eſteem of his ſpirit (which was, in-

deed, on this occaſion more conſpicuous than his prudence), that the lord-deputy had him, ever afterwards, in particular eſteem; and, when he returned to England, recommended him to the privy-council as one who was likely to prove a great and able ſervant of the crown.

In 1640, an army being thought neceſſary to be raiſed in Ireland, the care of making the levies, and aſcertaining their maintenance, from the funds which the parliament had provided, was repoſed in the earl of Ormond. This army was to have rendezvouzed at Carrickfergus, and to have been tranſported from thence to Scotland; but the pacification which ſoon after followed prevented the execution of the deſign.

The next year broke out the terrible and bloody Iriſh rebellion, made for ever memorable by a rage of cruelty ſcarcely ever exerciſed on any other occaſion, and which filled that unhappy country, for many years, with ſlaughter and deſolation. The moſt cruel and furious, though not the ableſt leader of this rebellion, was Sir Phelim O'Neil, who opened the horrid ſcene on the twenty-ſecond of October, the day appointed for the general inſurrection, by the ſeizure of the caſtle of Charlemount, a very important fort upon the paſs of Blackwater.

The perfidy with which he tranſacted this firſt part of his ſcheme, was a natural prelude to the barbarities which he practiſed in the proſecution of it. He ſent word to the lord Charlemount, who was governor of the fortreſs, that he would that day be his gueſt; and an entertainment was accordingly provided; to which, as was not uncommon in thoſe times, great numbers reſorted, as to a general feſtival. Lord Charlemount had one company of ſoldiers in his garriſon; but they not ſuſpecting danger, and being equally inclined with the ſtrangers to paſs the day in plenty and merriment, laid aſide their arms, and mingled with the company. The table was ſpread, the gueſts were gay, and all was jollity and civility, till towards evening, when Sir Phelim, finding

finding all his accomplices entered, and all dangers of reſiſtance removed, ſeized upon lord Charlemount and his family, while his followers murdered or ſecured the ſoldiers, and took poſſeſſion of the caſtle.

On the ſame day, many other chieftains raiſed their ſepts, and endeavoured to take poſſeſſion of the towns in their neighbourhood; at ſome of which they ſucceeded, and at others were diſappointed. They grew, however, every day ſtronger, as they were abſolute maſters of all that was to be found in the open country, and had therefore ſufficient means to tempt the needy peaſants to join them. The whole country of Craven was reduced by Philip O'Reily, and ſeven others by other leaders, in the firſt week; and Sir Phelim O'Neil had gathered in the ſame time a body of near thirty thouſand men; which is a ſufficient proof of the intention of the Iriſh to rebel: but is it not likewiſe a reaſonable ground of ſuſpicion, that, ſince the effect muſt bear a natural proportion to the cauſe, they had received ſome general provocations; that the Engliſh had forgotten that induſtry with which diſputed titles ought always to be enjoyed; and that kindneſs, with which intruders, however powerful, and however ſupported, ought always to endeavour to recommend themſelves to original inhabitants?

It is apparent, that the followers of Phelim O'Neil had, in a ſhort time, learned to take pleaſure in cruelty; and not only to murder thoſe who fell into their hands without reluctance, but with merriment and delight: and, ſo much had he heightened their barbarity, that, if they happened to have no priſoners to deſtroy, they would amuſe themſelves with ſeizing the cattle, not to drive them away or devour them, but to torture them; and would cut off the legs of ſheep or oxen, and leave them to expire in lingering agonies. By this ſtupid cruelty did they deſtroy great numbers of the cattle, which the death or eſcape of the owners put into their hands: and by this practice did they, in any interval

of human maſſacre, keep their hearts from learning to relent.

Sir Phelim was ſo far from endeavouring to repreſs this rage of cruelty, that he encouraged it by his own example; for, whenever he was accidentally diſcompoſed, his rage always broke out in ſome horrible and uſeleſs act of cruelty. At one time he ordered the lord Charlemount, whom he had ſeized at Charlemount, to be ſhot; at another, he maſſacred great numbers whom he had received under his own hand to quarter; and was every day inventing new forms of barbarity, and accumulating one murder upon another.

The accounts which have been generally received of this horrid maſſacre are, in many circumſtances, very remote from truth. It is aſſerted, that, at leaſt, 150,000 Engliſh were deſtroyed; and, to aggravate the horror, it is added, that they were all butchered in one day; but it is certain, that there was no particular day remarkable for bloodſhed; and it is probable, that the numbers maſſacred did not exceed 37,000. a dreadful ſlaughter, which ſurely needs not to be made more deteſtable by any exaggerations.

It was upon this occaſion that the earl of Ormond received his firſt military appointment from Charles I. in an affectionate letter, dated at Edinburgh, in October 1641, deſiring him to take upon him the command of the army, in quality of lieutenant-general of his majeſty's forces in Ireland.

In conſequence of this commiſſion, the earl of Ormond continued to ſerve the king with all the zeal that bravery and fidelity could inſpire, though not with the ſucceſs which might have been expected from him, had he been at liberty to form his own meaſures, and to lay hold of thoſe advantages, which, whenever his own diligence had procured them, the delays of the lords juſtices compelled him to loſe; and, in the meantime, he was forced to ſtruggle with numberleſs calumnies, which his loyalty to the king probably drew upon him;

him; for at this time the prevailing party in England began to charge the king, amongſt other attempts againſt the conſtitution and religion of the nation, with the crime of having encouraged the rebellion and maſſacre of Ireland.

The earl of Ormond, however, having defeated the rebels at Kilruſh, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many other actions as a general and ſubject, the king, ſince his affairs were at that time in ſuch a ſituation that he had nothing but honours to beſtow, thought it proper to diſtinguiſh him by a higher title; and therefore, in 1642, created him marquis of Ormond.

About the ſame time, a controverſy between him and the earl of Leiceſter, then lord-lieutenant, was decided in ſuch a manner as gave him power to diſpoſe, while the lord-lieutenant was abſent, of all the poſts that ſhould become vacant in the army: by which his intereſt was increaſed, and his authority confirmed; as the ſoldiers had no means of obtaining preferment but by gaining the approbation of their general: but this new dignity conferred no ſtrength, and he was only expoſed to the mortification of ſeeing himſelf unable to return the regard which had been ſhewn him by his maſter, by any important ſervice, which he had every day leſs hopes of effecting, as the parliament declared more openly againſt the king. Some forces were indeed ſent, but under commanders who rather hindered than promoted the ſuppreſſion of the rebels; for, by plundering all indiſcriminately, they weakened thoſe moſt who were leaſt able to bear new loſſes; by diſregarding all thoſe who acted by the king's authority, they deſtroyed the union which was neceſſary to ſucceſs; and, by treating the whole kingdom with unreaſonable ſeverity, they encouraged the opinion, that nothing leſs than extirpation was intended; and therefore added to the ardour of reſentment, the fury of deſpair.

In the ſpring of the year 1643, it was thought neceſſary to ſend the army into the field, and an expedition

was intended for the conqueſt of Roſs and Wexford. The marquis of Ormond ſet out therefore with his forces, and came before Roſs on the 12th of March; and would ſoon have been able to take it, being at firſt but weakly garriſoned, had not the juſtices neglected to ſend him, not only ammunition, but victuals for his ſoldiers; all which, being to be tranſported by ſea, was ſo negligently provided, that the wind, which was for many days favourable, altered before the veſſel was ready for the voyage; and the army, inſtead of annoying the enemy, had no care ſo preſſing as that of procuring bread: ſo that, in theſe circumſtances, it was found neceſſary to draw off the army from before the place, and by the appearance of a retreat to induce the enemy to ſally out, and come to an engagement. This ſtratagem ſucceeded, and the rebel army was defeated; and the marquis, being maſter of the open country, ſupplied his army with proviſions.

But the diſtreſs and poverty of the army was the ſame ſoon after the victory as before it; for, though the country furniſhed them with proviſions ſufficient for a retreat, yet, being naked and exhauſted, it would not ſupply any ſtores for a longer ſupport, and therefore they returned to Dublin, where they found the ſame diſtreſs, and where they were again to repreſent, to remonſtrate, to petition, and to ſtarve. The juſtices were unwilling that the king ſhould receive any information of the ſtate of the nation, or of the army; and therefore the marquis of Ormond, who was not equally inclined to make his ſovereign contemptible, ſent, without their concurrence, ſuch a narrative as was concerted by him with ſeveral of the privy-council.

This, with other accounts which had been tranſmitted, had ſuch an effect, that Sir William Parſons was at length removed from his office of lord-juſtice, and was ſucceeded by Sir Henry Tichbourne, who had more affection for the king's ſervice. But the change of one of the governors, though it might ſet the marquis free from

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ſome embarraſſments, could contribute very little to the ſupport of the army, whoſe neceſſities grew every day more preſſing, and whoſe hopes of relief became more diſtant; for the Papiſts enlarged their quarters on every ſide.

Diſtreſs thus hourly increaſing, and the enemy, though they were often driven out of the field, yet returning to it with greater numbers, it was at length thought convenient by the king, that a ceſſation of arms ſhould be propoſed; and a commiſſion to treat was ſent to the marquis of Ormond, who approved of the meaſure, but knew not how to ſet it on foot, without inconvenience or diſgrace to his ſovereign.

It was neceſſary to the king's honour, that the firſt offer ſhould be made by the rebels; and it was likewiſe proper, that the council ſhould own, in ſome ſolemn manner, their conviction of the impractability of eſtabliſhing the peace of the nation by any other means.

In order to procure the firſt overtures from the Iriſh, agents were employed, who, after long deliberation, prevailed upon them to propoſe a ceſſation for twelve months; and, that the juſtices might have no pretences that a negociation of ſuch importance was ſet on foot, either without their concurrence, or in oppoſition to their advice, the marquis firſt demanded, in a full council, Whether any man could offer a propoſal more honourable for the king, or more advantageous to the nation, than that of a ceſſation? None had any thing to offer, or could give any information of any meaſures that had a probable appearance of ſucceſs; and therefore a ceſſation was neceſſarily to be admitted as the only reſource then remaining. The marquis was willing, however, that no poſſibility of ſuſpicion ſhould be left, that might ſubject this part of his conduct to the imputation of cowardice, or an inclination to gratify the rebels by conceſſions which might have been avoided; and therefore, to put a ſtop for ever to all ſuch inſinuations, he made an offer, That, if the juſtices and council,

council, who were beſt acquainted with the condition of the ſtate, could procure only ten thouſand pounds, half in money, and half in ammunition and proviſions, he would ſtill proſecute the war, and endeavour to enlarge his quarters.

Upon this propoſal, the mayor of Dublin, and ſome of the moſt wealthy citizens, were required to attend, and conſult by what means ſuch a ſupply could be procured: but they declared their opinion, that no ſuch levy could be made; and that the country was too much exhauſted to be able to give any farther aſſiſtance for its own preſervation. The marquis was therefore at full liberty to purſue his own meaſures, and proceed to negociate a ceſſation; but the rebels were fully ſenſible of their own ſuperiority, and were therefore not eaſily to be perſuaded to ſuch terms as it was fit to allow them.

About this time, arrived likewiſe a commiſſioner from the pope, with a ſupply of money, and with ſtores of war. Theſe added great weight to the influence which his holineſs exerted in oppoſing the ceſſation; but there were in the army of the Papiſts men of great rank and reputation, who ſtill retained their duty to the king, and who wiſhed, with the utmoſt ardour, to put a ſtop to the deſolations of their country. Theſe men ſtruggled very earneſtly for the ceſſation, and by their means it was at laſt concluded.

The articles were not ratified till September; and, in the mean time, the Iriſh had not only gathered in the harveſt almoſt without interruption, but had frequently adventured by the night into the Engliſh quarters, and reaped the corn, and carried it away: ſo that the only juſt complaint that could be made againſt the ceſſation was, that it was too long delayed; but that delay was unavoidable, where ſo many men of different intereſts, opinions, and inclinations, were to be conſulted.

This ceſſation, however, while it hurt only the Papiſts

piſts, whoſe union it broke, and whoſe ardour it relaxed, was repreſented by the enemies of the marquis, and of the king, as an unſeaſonable conceſſion; and loud clamours were raiſed, as if the Proteſtant intereſt had been betrayed, and the nation given up by treaty.

Yet theſe complaints had no weight with his majeſty; and the influence, fidelity, and diligence of the marquis of Ormond became ſo conſpicuous, that he thought it neceſſary to confer upon him the lieutenancy of the kingdom; and he ſoon afterwards received the ſword of ſtate, and entered upon his office; not, indeed, with much hope of ſerving his king, or remedying many of the diſorders. They had proceeded too far to give way to a government which was without any force to ſupport it; which only a very ſmall diſtrict profeſſed to obey; and which had no advantage, but that of its legality. He had therefore this only comfort, that though he could not do much, he could yet do more than any other man; and that what authority was yet maintained by his ſovereign in Ireland was the conſequence of the reputation and influence of the lieutenant.

In the beginning of his lieutenancy, he was embarraſſed with many difficulties. He was to endeavour to retain all, without having the means of recompenſing any; and to command without the power of compulſion. There were few who thought their duty of ſo much importance as to be preferable to their intereſt; and undoubtedly many, if they were inclined to the right, were, in the diſtraction of oppoſite motives, unable to determine their own choice.

In the midſt of theſe perplexing diſturbances, it was hoped that he might ſend ſome aſſiſtance to the royaliſts; but armies could not be inliſted, nor tranſported, without pay or proviſion; and he was unprovided with money.

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cited, ſent commiſſioners to Oxford, to treat with the king; but, at firſt, propoſed conditions which could not, without reproach, be made the foundation of a treaty; and on which, therefore, no conference was allowed. They ſoon diſcovered that they had required more than could be granted; and therefore, in a few days, moderated their demands; inſiſting only on the abrogation of the penal laws againſt recuſants; the right of enjoying poſts and offices in the government; the excluſion from the parliament of all perſons who had not eſtates in the kingdom of Ireland; and a general act of oblivion which ſhould ſecure both perſon and eſtate.

To theſe, ſeveral other propoſitions were added, of leſs importance, or leſs extenſive in their conſequences: upon which, the treaty of peace was wholly referred to the marquis of Ormond, who was more acquainted than the court with the condition of Ireland, and whoſe perſonal influence over many of the commiſſioners might enable him to reaſon with more immediate reference to their particular opinions and deſigns, and to ſuggeſt motives more likely to operate upon their minds than general argument.

In ſhort, many cogent reaſons concurred for throwing the burthen of this treaty upon the lord-lieutenant; but moſt of the arguments which inclined the council at Oxford to chuſe him for the taſk, were of equal weight to determine him againſt the undertaking; therefore he intreated the king's permiſſion to lay down the ſword, that the direction of the affairs of Ireland might be committed to ſome perſon more equal to the burthen.

But before any anſwer could arrive to this requeſt the peace was concluded, without any conceſſions diſadvantageous to the Proteſtant religion, or derogatory from the honour of the king. Upon this the marquis, in order to promote the king's intereſt, and reconcile the confederate Iriſh, marched with a ſmall force to Kilkenny, where he was received with reſpect, by the ſupreme

ſupreme council, as governor of the kingdom; and from thence he proceeded to the remoter parts of the iſland; but he had not gone far before he received intelligence of a deſign laid by O'Neil to ſurpriſe him, and to force him to conſent to a new peace upon other terms.—O'Neil was to be aſſiſted by Preſton; and both were endeavouring, in the moſt ſecret manner, to direct the march of their forces ſo as to intercept the lieutenant in his progreſs.

Of this deſign he received ſuch accounts as he could not diſtruſt, and therefore returned to Dublin with the utmoſt caution and expedition; his waggons being plundered at Kilkenny, and his plate, and other things of value, taken away.

The pope's nuncio, then in Ireland, now found himſelf maſter of the field; and, that his deſigns might be no longer obſtructed, he led his army to Kilkenny, and impriſoned the ſupreme council, which he had found not ſufficiently diſpoſed to comply with his propoſals.

That the government might be carried on, he ſummoned an aſſembly of the clergy, who inveſted themſelves with the authority which they had taken from the council, and aſſumed the unlimited direction of temporal as well as ſpiritual affairs. They were now at the height of proſperity, and endeavouring to extend their authority to the utmoſt boundaries of the kingdom, and determined to put an end to the lieutenant's authority, they ordered their forces to beſiege Dublin.

The two bodies of men under O'Neil and Preſton did not wholly truſt, or very diligently aſſiſt, each other; and there was ſome proſpect of a treaty with Preſton for the union with the lord-lieutenant againſt O'Neil; but Preſton was ſo unſteady, and the Iriſh confederates had ſo little fidelity, that nothing was to be truſted to their honour or their oaths; and therefore the marquis would not put the laſt remains of the Proteſtant power into their hands; but reſolved to ſuſtain

a ſiege in Dublin, which he had fortified and provided as well as he could; the marchioneſs and other ladies having, to encourage the workmen and inhabitants, carried baſkets of mould to form the trenches.

But, though fortifications might be built, proviſions could not be procured in an exhauſted country; and therefore his enemies, who were well acquainted with his diſtreſs, had nothing more to do but to prevent the importation of ſupplies, and this they effected; ſo that he muſt have ſubmitted at diſcretion, if he had not delivered up the city, and his commiſſion, to the deputies and the army ſent from the parliament of England, to whom, the king had informed him, that he deſired the kingdom ſhould, when it could be kept no no longer, be reſigned, rather than to the Iriſh.

When the commiſſioners, who were diſpatched to treat with him for the ſurrender of the city, and of his authority, arrived at Dublin, they likewiſe were inclined to impoſe ſuch conditions upon him, as the diſtreſs to which they ſaw him reduced might oblige him to accept. But theſe he thought inconſiſtent with his honour and his duty, and therefore rejected their offers, and ſuffered them to depart without any agreement: but his diſtreſſes every day increaſing, and the inhabitants of the place growing diſcontented, he was at laſt conſtrained to yield on ſuch terms as he could obtain; and, in July 1647, he reſigned his authority, and departed from the kingdom, which he had defended with ſo much fidelity, and governed with ſo much wiſdom.

The confederate Iriſh durſt no longer continue the ſiege, but retired when the new garriſon was admitted, and returned into the country, where it was now neceſſary for them to unite againſt a more furious and potent enemy.

Thoſe that had adhered to the king and the marquis were now without any advantage from their loyalty, being equally hated and ſuſpected on every ſide. When the marquis left Dublin, in this forlorn and calamitous condition,

condition, he could not forbear declaring, with that cheerfulneſs which has been uſually known to accompany great minds, that he expected ſome time or other to return in a ſtate of power and proſperity, of which there was not, at that time, any proſpect; for the king was in the hands of his moſt implacable enemies, all his forces were ſuppreſſed, and all his garriſons ſurrendered.

The marquis, however, whoſe ardour for the ſervice of his maſter did not depend upon fortune, went to attend him at Hampton-court. Here the marquis was admitted to that confidence which fidelity ſo long tried might juſtly expect; and, when he offered to reſign the lieutenancy, in which he had been able to effect ſo little, was told by the king, that he ſhould keep his commiſſion to a time of better fortune; for that no other ſhould have the ſatisfaction of enjoying that authority which he had uſed ſo well, though ſo unſucceſsfully. The lord-lieutenant then gave him an account of the ſtate of Ireland, and of his own conduct, in a long memorial.

He had now the ſatisfaction to find that his endeavours, however unproſperous, were well accepted, and that he ſtill retained the favour of his ſovereign, but he was by no means in a ſtate of happineſs or ſafety; for he was not only afflicted with the misfortunes of his maſter, who was then viſibly loſing the little influence and reſpect which his character had hitherto enabled him to retain, even among thoſe who now had him in their power, but he was likewiſe himſelf harraſſed with perſonal difficulties, the debts which he had contracted for the public ſervice being now demanded.

Indeed he had, by his capitulation, ſix months to liquidate them; but, this term being very nearly expired, he made his apprehenſions of them the pretext for going off privately; though the real motives were an order from the committee at Derby-houſe, dated in February 1648, requiring him to ſend them, upon his

parole of honour, and under his own hand, an aſſurance that he would not, during his reſidence in England, do any thing prejudicial to the parliament; and he had no inclination to be ſerved with this order. He was alſo ſenſible they were grown jealous of him, and wanted a pretence to ſeize upon his perſon, for which he had been adviſed a warrant was actually iſſued.

It was therefore prudent to provide for his ſovereign's intereſts, by ſecuring his own liberty; and croſſing the country from Acton, about ten miles diſtant from Briſtol, where he had fixed his reſidence, the better to carry on the correſpondence he had entered into with the lord Inchiquin, he took ſhipping at Haſtings, in Suſſex, landed at Dieppe, and went to pay his reſpects to the queen and the prince at Paris, where he correſponded with the earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Lanerick, in Scotland, by the means of Sir John Hamilton; and, by the intervention of colonel John Barry, he kept up, in Ireland, the correſpondence he had before ſettled with lord Inchiquin.

The marquis had not been long at Paris before agents, deputed by the general aſſembly, arrived there, from Ireland, to the queen and the prince, to treat of a peace, as the only expedient to ſave the kingdom. The marquis was conſulted, and gave his opinion on the demands they brought, and the method neceſſary to be followed to promote his majeſty's intereſt.

The marquis's return to Ireland being judged the only method that could be taken to ſave the kingdom, this made him very importunate with the French court for the neceſſary ſupplies; but he was long delayed, and, at length, put off with ſuch a trifling ſum that it was conſumed in neceſſaries for the voyage, and the ſubſiſtence of his attendance, before he could get his diſpatches from St. Germains and embark for Ireland. However, he arrived in that kingdom, where he was impatiently expected by Inchiquin, landing at Cork in September

September 1648, with no more than thirty French piſtoles for his military cheſt.

The marquis had now no power but from the queen and the prince to conclude a peace with the Iriſh; but this, however, he got ratified by the king, then a priſoner in the iſle of Wight; and with this ratification, which was by letter only, he received his majeſty's commands to diſobey all public orders, which he ſhould give him, while under reſtraint.

The uniting Ireland in his majeſty's intereſts was the only viſible means to ſave his life, and the only propoſed end of the marquis's return to that kingdom. With this view he publiſhed a declaration, in October, in which he mentions his having delivered up Dublin to the parliament, with his reaſons for ſo doing.

The marquis, though unaſſiſted, entered upon the treaty of peace with the confederates, and, after having, with indefatigable zeal, unwearied diligence, labour, and examplary, ſteady loyality, ſurmounted many difficulties, it was at length concluded, a few days before the death of Charles I.

His next care was to proclaim Charles II. in all the towns which remained ſubject to the royal authority; after which he wrote to the new king, then at the Hague, earneſtly intreating him to ſtrengthen his intereſt in Ireland by his preſence.

His majeſty, convinced by the ſtrength of his excellency's arguments, reſolved upon following his advice, and paſſing over into Ireland; but was fruſtrated in his deſign by the Scotch commiſſioners, who were ſent from the convention in Scotland to him in Holland, and by the deputies of the ſtates, who warmly eſpouſed their cauſe.

The marquis, thus left alone to ſtruggle with innumerable difficulties, was not, however, diſcouraged; his ſpirits ſeemed to riſe in proportion to the difficulties he had to encounter; for, with a ſmall army, without money, without proviſions, and not without diſguſts

among themſelves, nor intirely to be depended upon, and at the ſame time adviſed of a deſign to aſſaſſinate him, he meditated a deſign upon Dublin, which might have been eaſily carried, had others been equally vigilant, diligent, and zealous, for his majeſty's ſervice. The taking of this city would undoubtedly have occaſioned the reduction of the whole kingdom.

But Cromwell himſelf arrived at Dublin at this juncture, with a powerful army, and well provided with money and proviſions, which concurring with the death of O'Neil, whom he had brought over to the king's party, obliged the marquis to raiſe the ſiege, and, the king being gone to Scotland, he had no longer the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs, and conſequently his longer ſtay in Ireland could not be of any ſervice to the king's intereſt, but by preventing the different parties from making terms with the enemy, or by covering his majeſty's deſigns to attack England with a Scottiſh army, by cauſing ſome diverſion in Ireland.

Theſe conſiderations were, however, ſufficient to prevail on him not to quit the kingdom till it was abſolutely impoſſible for him to keep it in obedience to his majeſty. His laſt effort for the king's ſervice was the calling a general aſſembly at Loghreah, in which he acquainted them with his deſign of departing, requiring them to conſider on the moſt probable means of preſerving the kingdom from utter ruin: and now having obtained the king's permiſſion to leave the kingdom, he embarked for France, and landed at Peroſe, in Baſſe Bretagne, in January 1651.

The marquis afterwards attended his majeſty at Paris till the treaty between the court of France and Cromwell made the king's departure from that kingdom indiſpenſably neceſſary. He then retired with him to Bruges in Flanders, where a treaty being ſet on foot between Charles and the court of Spain, in reſentment for Cromwell's taking Jamaica, it was propoſed, that ſome perſon of credit ſhould be ſent to England, to

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found the diſpoſition of the people upon the ſubject of the Reſtoration, which was to be attempted by a Spaniſh army.

The marquis, in this exigence, generouſly offered to go to England in diſguiſe, and act in the manner that ſhould be moſt conducive to his majeſty's intereſt, either as a chief, or as a ſubaltern; which was, with ſome reluctance, accepted by the king. He accordingly went to England, but ſoon was convinced that all hopes from the cavaliers were built upon a ſandy foundation.

The king, diſguſted with the Spaniſh miniſters, ſoon after withdrew from Bruſſels to the Hague. And here the marquis, to forward his royal maſter's intereſt, which he hoped by theſe means to ſtrengthen, conſented to a marriage between his ſon Thomas earl of Oſſory, and Emilia, daughter of Lewis of Naſſau, lord of Beverweert, natural ſon of Maurice, prince of Orange. The marquis of Ormond remained in Holland with the king, and came to England with him at the Reſtoration, when he was ſworn a member of the privy-council, made lord-ſteward of the houſehold, lord-lieutenant of Somerſetſhire, high-ſteward of Weſtminſter, Kingſton, and Briſtol, and was reſtored to his dignity of chancellor of the univerſity of Dublin.

His majeſty gave back to him the county of Tipperary, together with the ſame privileges which his family had, for ſome centuries, enjoyed. He was, after this, created earl of Brecknock, and baron of Lanthony in England, and, by act of parliament, reſtored to his whole eſtate.

Soon after the Reſtoration, he found means to do a conſiderable and acceptable ſervice to the Engliſh families in Ireland, by preventing the inſertion of ſome clauſes in the act of indemnity, which muſt have proved their ruin.

The king, in conſideration of the marquis's ſervices, made him very liberal grants; and, in February 1661,

he was joined with the duke of Albemarle, and others, in a commiſſion to determine the claims uſually entered at coronations, preparations being at that time making for the king's. In March, he was created duke of Ormond; and, about that time, being alſo made lord-high-ſteward of England, he aſſiſted in that capacity at the coronation.

In the grand affair of the ſettlement of Ireland, the duke was inclined to do all poſſible ſervice to the Iriſh; but as they not only rejected his advice, but even traduced his character, he reſolved not to intermeddle in that affair, and his name appeared not in any one committee, to which it was referred, till after he was lord-lieutenant; which employment he accepted, when the duke of Albemarle had declined it on account of the jarring intereſts of the different parties. It was the the duke of Ormond's intire ſubmiſſion to the will of his maſter which prevailed with him to enter upon an employment, the inconveniences of which he well foreſaw; for he, ſpeaking of it to a friend, ſaid, "Beſides many other unpleaſant difficulties, there are two diſadvantages proper to me; one of the contending parties believing I owe them more kindneſs and protection than I can find myſelf chargeable with; and the others ſuſpecting I retain that prejudice to them, which I am as free from. This temper in them will be attended with clamour and ſcandal, upon my moſt equal and wary deportment."

Four days after the duke of Ormond was declared lord-lieutenant, the agents of the parliament of Ireland had an audience of the king; when the biſhop of Elphin, in the name of the lords, expreſſed their joy at the nomination of a perſon of whom his lordſhip gave the higheſt encomiums, and under whoſe conduct, he ſaid, the kingdom of Ireland could not but ſpeedily flouriſh. Sir A. Mervin, in the name of the commons, alſo gave his majeſty thanks for having named the duke to be

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lord-lieutenant; and the news was received in Ireland with public rejoicings.

The parliament of Ireland, in 1662, conſidering the great loſſes the duke had ſuſtained by his ſervices to the crown, and the expence which his grace muſt neceſſarily fall into, to ſupport the dignity of his office, made him a preſent of thirty thouſand pounds.

The king's marriage deferred the duke's departure for Ireland to the beginning of July, when he ſet out from London, and arrived in Dublin the latter end of that month, where he was ſplendidly received. And now all things relating to the government devolving upon him, what he had foreſeen was ſoon verified; for, though he acted with the ſtricteſt integrity and impartiality, yet he could not avoid the reſentment of numbers, who applied to him for what he could not grant, conſiſtent with his duty. Whence aroſe new clamours, and his adminiſtration was not only rendered uneaſy to him, but the courſe of his majeſty's affairs was interrupted.

An act of ſettlement, and ſome others, were paſſed in September, when his grace made an excellent ſpeech, well adapted to promote a mutual confidence and a perfect harmony between the king and his ſubjects; which the two houſes deſired might be printed.

One of the firſt things to which the duke applied himſelf, was the purging the army, by diſbanding the diſaffected. The exchequer being empty, he paid their arrears out of his own pocket, as it was a ſervice which admitted no delay.

The republican party in England, who were ſaid to meditate a new commonwealth, or, at leaſt, ſome limitation of the regal authority, flattered themſelves with the aſſiſtance of theſe forces, and with the concurrence of the Preſbyterians, diſcontented by the act of uniformity; and the reſolution of the parliament to ſupport that act put the malecontents upon making an inſurrection, hoping ſtrength from Scotland, but more

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from Ireland, to ſupport their attempts. Many of the Iriſh were, by the court of claims, to be re-poſſeſſed of their eſtates; which making the ſoldiers adventurers, every one for himſelf, by the fear of being thruſt out of the lands they enjoyed, occaſioned great clamours againſt the proceedings of that court, and the deſigns of the government; and ſome of the moſt furious ſpirits, reſolving to keep by the ſword what eſtates they enjoyed, readily engaged with that party.

An inſurrection was intended, a conſpiracy formed, and a private committee appointed for conducting the affair; but the whole was diſcovered to the duke. Blood, who afterwards ſtole the crown from the jewel office in the Tower, was one of the committee. But, notwithſtanding this intelligence, the duke owed his preſervation to his own vigilance; for the day pitched upon, to ſeize him and ſurpriſe the caſtle, was the tenth of March, of which he had notice; but the conſpirators altering the time, and fixing it on the fifth, his informer was ignorant of the change till near the hour of its deſigned execution. The duke, however, was on his guard; of which the traitors having ſome information, the attempt was not made. Some of them fled, and others were taken.

In the year 1670, the duke's unalterable zeal for his majeſty's ſervice induced him to protect the Iriſh remonſtrants. Theſe were the Catholics who oppoſed the violences of the pope's nuncio; but the anti-remonſtrants prevailing by the ſupport of the Engliſh miniſtry, that which the duke had offered others was the ground of a general hatred which the Iriſh Roman Catholics bore to his grace.

In the year 1677, the duke of Ormond was for the third time declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He was received hy the univerſity with all poſſible demonſtrations of reſpect and eſteem, and with very great ceremony, by the earl of Eſſex, who was to reſign the ſword to him. Soon after his arrival, he laid the foundation

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of the hoſpital for ſoldiers; erected Charles-fort, to ſecure the harbour of Kinſale; and employed the greateſt part of his time in detecting frauds in the revenue, which, as alſo the forces of the kingdom, he conſiderably augmented.

His majeſty, at this time, thinking to gain over his enemies, took the method to make them more formidable, by putting them into poſts of power and credit; to which end he deſired the duke to reſign his poſt of lord-ſteward of the houſehold. The account of the Popiſh-plot being ſent to his grace, with its extending to Ireland, and a deſign upon his own life, occaſioned his iſſuing proclamations neceſſary for the ſecurity of that kingdom, and taking other proper methods to that end. Though the duke uſed very neceſſary precautions to prevent the threatened commotions, yet his moderation not agreeing with more violent tempers, a deſign of aſſaſſinating his grace was ſtrongly rumoured, and letters to that purpoſe were dropt in the ſtreets, in hopes that his own ſecurity might puſh him on to ſeverities; but his firmneſs of mind was not to be ſhaken; and he made uſe of no harſher means than what were neceſſary, had the imaginary danger been real; except againſt Tories, or common robbers and murderers, in the perſons of their relations, who protected or concealed them.

The lord Shafteſbury, in a ſpeech in the houſe of peers, inſinuated, that the duke of Ormond was popiſhly inclined. This attack from him made the duke's friends apprehend farther deſigns againſt him, and give him their advice to come to England. He accordingly wrote to Mr. ſecretary Coventry for his majeſty's permiſſion; but the anſwer his majeſty gave, was, "He had one of his kingdoms in good hands, and was reſolved to keep it ſo." It was, however, reported, that the duke was to be removed; and lord Arlington aſked his majeſty, "If ſuch a report was true?" He anſwered, "It was a damned lie; and that he was ſatisfied while

while he (the duke of Ormond) was there, that kingdom was ſafe."

The king, who believed that deſigns were formed to limit his authority, reſolving to exert himſelf, would have brought lord Shafteſbury to his trial; but the grand jury, very properly, threw out the bill; and, as the ferment afterwards abated in England, the people's minds were quieted in Ireland; when all being huſhed into a calm, the duke of Ormond had an opportunity, the king having ſent for him, to come to England, leaving his ſon, the earl of Arran, lord-deputy.

He received the compliments of, and preſents from, every town through which he paſſed from Cheſter to London; into which he was uſhered by a great number of perſons of diſtinction. In his entry he was attended by twenty-ſeven coaches and the king's trumpets, the ſerjeant-trumpet, and a kettle-drum. At court he met with an affectionate reception from his majeſty, and was immediately ſworn of the privy-council; and ſoon after created an Engliſh duke.

The king's affairs being ſo well eſtabliſhed in England, that there was not any neceſſity for his grace's abſence from his government, after two years ſtay at court, he received orders, in June, to return to Ireland; but his departure was retarded till Auguſt, by the death of his ducheſs.

No ſooner had he left London, but he was attacked on ſome ſuggeſtions from colonel Talbot; who made ſuch a report to the king, that a general reformation in the council, magiſtracy, and army of Ireland, was determined; and his grace, on the fifth of September, had a hint from Sir Robert Southwell of his removal. In October the king intimated his pleaſure on this head, and of lord Rocheſter's ſucceeding to his poſt.

On the 6th of February 1684, king Charles II. died; and the duke, four days after, being ſent for, left Dublin to proceed to England, having firſt cauſed James II. to be proclaimed; and, as ordered, laid down his office; which

which was a treatment he had little reaſon to expect, and an indignity that the late king would not have put upon him.

He ſet out for England; and, on the road, met the news of his regiment of horſe being given to colonel Talbot; but, notwithſtanding theſe affronts from court, he was, when near London, met by numbers of coaches, and received at his houſe by a multitude, and loud acclamations. He was continued lord-ſteward of the houſehold, and, at the coronation, again carried the crown.

The lord Clarendon ſucceeded to the lieutenancy of Ireland; but, after a year, was recalled to make way for colonel Talbot, created earl of Tyrconnel, who made great changes both in the civil and military eſtabliſhment; and the duke loſt his regiment of foot; though he kept his regiment of horſe, which he had purchaſed fifty years before; and this was the only military employment he held.

In February 1686, the duke retired for ſome weeks to Cornbury, in Oxfordſhire, a ſeat lord Clarendon had lent him; and in Auguſt he attended his majeſty in his progreſs as far as Briſtol. He, after this, withſtood the firſt inſtance of his majeſty's exerciſing a diſpenſing power; and, when the king felt his pulſe on the deſign of aboliſhing the penal laws, he found him unalterably ſteady in his averſion to what he foreſaw would be contrary to his majeſty's intereſt, though it might flatter his inclinations.

The duke, being laid up with the gout at Badminton, had the honour of two viſits from the king, in going from Bath to Cheſter, and on his return. He permitted his grace to retire, and diſpenſed with his attendance at court, as lord-ſteward; from which he would not remove him. His grace removed from Badminton, and hired a ſeat in Dorſetſhire, called Kingſton-hall, where he died on the twenty-firſt of July 1686; and,

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on the fourth of Auguſt, his corpſe was depoſited in Weſtminſter-abbey.

*** *Authorities.* Rapin's Hiſtory of England. Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian. Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Great Rebellion. Biog. Britan.

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE VILLIERS,

THE YOUNGER,

Second Duke of BUCKINGHAM of that Name.

[A. D. 1627, to 1688.]

THIS accompliſhed courtier having had the chief direction of public affairs for a ſhort time under Charles II. intitles him to a place in the claſs of public characters who flouriſhed at this æra, though he was more diſtinguiſhed for his literary than his political abilities; and, if it would not have made a chaſm in the annals of this reign, he might have ranked with the poets in the ſupplement.

He was the ſon and heir of that unfortunate ſtateſman and favourite, the firſt duke of Buckingham of the name, whoſe life the reader will find in volume III. He was born at Wallingford-houſe in Weſtminſter, in 1627, and was little more than ſixteen months old when his father was aſſaſſinated: "From whom (ſays Mr. Brian Fairfax, one of the writers of his life), he inherited the greateſt title, as he did from his mother the greateſt eſtate, of any ſubject in England; and from them both ſo graceful a body, as gave luſtre to the ornaments of his mind." He was educated for ſome years by private tutors at home, under the direction of the ducheſs his mother, and, at a proper age, he was ſent, with his younger

younger brother, lord Francis Villiers, to Trinity-college, Cambridge. It is not certain how long he remained at the univerſity before he went upon his travels into foreign parts; it is only aſcertained, that he did not return to England till after the commencement of the civil war, when he and his brother repaired to Charles I. at Oxford, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves, ſoon after, by their zeal and activity in the royal cauſe, particularly, in ſtorming of the cloſe at Litchfield, for which the parliament ſeized on their eſtates, but reſtored them again in conſideration of their youth. In 1648, the noble youths appeared again in arms againſt the parliament, under the ſtandard of the earl of Holland; and general Fairfax himſelf being ſent out againſt the earl, engaged him near Kingſton in Surrey; and lord Francis Villiers, having his horſe ſlain under him in the action, placed himſelf againſt an oak tree in the high-way, where he valiantly defended himſelf with his ſword, ſcorning to aſk quarter till he received nine wounds in his face and body, and thus gallantly fell a victim to loyalty in the twentieth year of his age.

The duke, after the loſs of his brother, eſcaped, with great difficulty, to St. Neot's in Huntingdonſhire, as did the earl of Holland, who was there taken and beheaded. The next morning, the duke, finding that the houſe wherein he lay was ſurrounded, and a troop of horſe drawn up before the gate, had juſt time to mount himſelf and his ſervants, and then, ordering the gates to be thrown open, he reſolutely charged the enemy, ſlew the commanding officer, and fought his way thro' the corps; after which he effected his eſcape to the ſea-coaſt, and found means to join the prince of Wales, who lay in the Downs with the ſhips that had deſerted from the earl of Warwick. The parliament now required him to ſurrender in the ſpace of forty days; which the duke refuſing, his eſtate was confiſcated, amounting to 25,000l. per annum. After this, he retired to Holland, and ſubſiſted, for ſome time, on the pro-

duce of the ſale of his pictures at Antwerp, which were part of the valuable collection purchaſed by his father in Italy, through the friendly aſſiſtance of Sir Henry Wotton, and other Engliſh gentlemen, who were travelling, or reſided in that country at the time. This coſtly collection adorned York-houſe in London, to the admiration of all men of judgment in pictures; and they were ſecretly conveyed to the duke by John Traylman, a truſty old ſervant, who had the care of that houſe.

In 1651, the duke of Buckingham, who had attended Charles II. in his expedition to Scotland, fought by his ſide at the battle of Worceſter, with ſignal bravery, which ought to be remembered to his honour, becauſe he had taken a diſguſt at the king's refuſal, before the battle, to take the command of the army from the Scottiſh general, and to beſtow it on him, alleging that it would not be conſiſtent with the dignity of an Engliſh peer to act under his orders. After the loſs of the day, the duke had the good fortune once more to eſcape from the enemy, too buſily engaged in the plunder of the royal camp, in the diſguiſe of a labourer, and, after various diſtreſsful adventures in the north of England, to get ſafe to London, and from thence to Holland, where he was at firſt miſtaken for the king, who, ſoon after, with ſtill more difficulty, got to France, where the duke joined him.

Charles, in recompence for his faithful ſervices, had made the duke a knight of the garter, and he was always glad to ſee him at court; but the duke ſaw no great proſpect of promotion, in caſe of a reſtoration; for the earl of Clarendon, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction about the king, had conceived a great diſlike to him: he therefore, about this time, took ſome very extraordinary ſteps, which alarmed the cavaliers. He entered himſelf a volunteer in the French army, and greatly ſignalized himſelf at the ſieges of Arras and Valenciennes; and his military reputation being now thoroughly

thoroughly eſtabliſhed, his conduct being highly extolled by the French officers, the next thing he did was to go over privately to England, where he paid his addreſſes to general Fairfax's daughter, whom he married with her father's conſent. Though this was a match of intereſt, the parliament having given the greateſt part of the duke's eſtate to Fairfax, yet it was conſidered by the cavaliers as an open deſertion of the royal cauſe: yet, on the other hand, Cromwell was ſo diſpleaſed at this alliance that he ſent the duke to the Tower, which ſo provoked the general, that it occaſioned a quarrel between him and the protector, whoſe death ſoon after put an end to the conteſt. The duke of Buckingham, however, remained a kind of ſtate-priſoner at Windſor-caſtle, till after the reſignation of Richard Cromwell, when he was ſet at liberty.

Nothing can be a greater proof of the extraordinary addreſs of this profeſſed courtier, than his making himſelf equally acceptable to the rigid devout Fairfax, and to that diſſolute immoral prince, Charles II. Upon his enlargement, he retired to his father-in-law's houſe at Appleton; where the old general, then lord Fairfax, received him with open arms; and here he reſided with his wife till the Reſtoration, lord Fairfax continuing to be highly pleaſed with his company, and with his conformity to the ſober regulations of his family.

Soon after the Reſtoration, the duke's whole eſtate was reſtored to him, which enabled him to appear with great ſplendor at the coronation, and he rendered himſelf popular by his hoſpitality; but being obliged to give entertainment to ſeveral young French noblemen, in return for the civilities he had received in France, they induced him to game, and he had ſuch bad ſucceſs, that his eſtate would ſoon have been conſiderably diminiſhed, if he had not taken a ſudden reſolution not to play any more; which, it is ſaid, he adhered to, even amidſt all his other diſſipations, ever after.

The duke's advancement at court after the Reſtoration was impeded as much as poſſible by the earl of Clarendon, and the duke of Ormond, his ſworn foe; at firſt he was only made one of the lords of the bedchamber, and ſworn of the privy-council; he then got the appointment of lord-lieutenant of Yorkſhire, and, at length, that of maſter of the horſe. But it does not appear that he had any diſtinguiſhed abilities as a politician; on the contrary, it is ſaid, that he had neither wiſdom, prudence, nor ſteadineſs, and that he could not poſſibly have been of the leaſt ſervice to any court but that of Charles II. in which humour, buffoonery, obſcenity, and immorality, were the characteriſtics of the monarch and his chief favourites. Buckingham poſſeſſed the talent of mimicry in a high degree; and that firſt of debauchees, Rocheſter, joining his pernicious talents to thoſe of the duke, theſe inſeparable companions cheated the king of his moſt grave and able counſellors and ſervants. But both of them, at times, though in different ways, grew miſchievous as well as witty, and incurred the king's diſpleaſure. Rocheſter's tricks were of too low and trivial a nature to be recorded in hiſtory; they occupy a fitter place at the head of his obſcene poems; but the duke of Buckingham's miſconduct was of a public nature, and, if properly inquired into, would probably have been found to be no leſs than treaſon to his king and country.---For he was accuſed of maintaining a ſecret correſpondence with the French; and likewiſe with diſaffected and diſcontented perſons, to whom he wrote letters which had a tendency to excite ſedition; and this being diſcovered, and laid before the king in council in 1666, he withdrew from court, and thereupon he was diſmiſſed from all his employments. The ſerjeant at arms was likewiſe ſent to his houſe, to take him into cuſtody; but he defended it by force, till he found means to eſcape: upon which a proclamation was iſſued, requiring him to ſurrender by a certain day: but he

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lay concealed above a year, till he had felt the pulſe of the good-natured king by the agency of his friends and ſpies; and then, upon his ſubmiſſion, the charge of treaſon was dropped, and he was reſtored to his place at the council-board, and to his office of lord of the bedchamber; and from this time gained ſuch an aſcendency over the king, that he made him his chief confident, and at his inſtigation removed the lord-chancellor Clarendon.

The duke of Buckingham now took the lead in adminiſtration, and was at the head of the cabinet-council ſtyled the *Cabal*, which was formed in 1670. The ſame year he went ambaſſador to France, in order to break *the triple alliance*, which had been the boaſt of Sir William Temple (ſee his Life in vol. V.). Anthony Wood ſays, that his perſon and his errand were ſo acceptable to the French king, that he entertained him very nobly for ſeveral days together, and gave him a ſword and belt ſet with diamonds, to the value of 40,000 piſtoles; and a French hiſtorian, *Monſ. de Verville*, aſſures us, that "the moſt Chriſtian king ſhewed him greater reſpect than ever any foreign ambaſſador had been known to receive, as he knew him to be *un homme de plaiſir*, he entertained him accordingly. "Nothing (ſays he) "could be ſo welcome to the court of Verſailles as the buſineſs he came about; for which reaſon a regale was prepared for him, that might have befitted the magnificence of the Roman emperors, when Rome flouriſhed in its utmoſt grandeur." But nothing could be more unpopular in England than this embaſſy, which was calculated to ruin the Dutch, and to deſtroy the Proteſtant intereſt in Europe: ſo that the duke was very differently received upon his return home; and his enemies being loud in their complaints againſt him, he is ſtrongly ſuſpected of a baſe attempt to take off the duke of Ormond, his old adverſary, by encouraging Blood, the villain who afterwards ſtole the crown from the Tower, in his aſſault upon Ormond. That nobleman

was taken out of his coach in St. James's Street by Blood and his aſſociates, and dragged beyond Devonſhire-houſe, in Piccadilly, before he was reſcued: their deſign was to have carried him to Tyburn, and to have hanged him on the gallows. The earl of Oſſory, the duke of Ormond's ſon, it is ſaid, was ſo convinced of Buckingham's guilt, that, in the king's preſence, he told the duke, if his father ſhould come to an untimely end, he ſhould conſider him as the author, and moſt aſſuredly would piſtol him, even if he ſtood behind the king's chair.

In 1671, the duke was inſtalled chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford; and, the ſame year, his celebrated comedy, intitled THE REHEARSAL, was firſt brought upon the ſtage. The uncommon applauſe with which it was received appears to have been due to the merit of the piece; though it was, by many at the time, aſcribed to the high rank of the author; but it has ſince conſtantly engaged the attention of the public; and, when the principal character is well filled, always draws together crowded audiences. Indeed, the Rehearſal is juſtly conſidered as a moſt perfect piece; and, as lord Shafteſbury obſerves, is the ſtandard of true comic ridicule. The foibles and partialities of poets, eſpecially in the dramatic walk, are finely ſatiriſed; but Mr. Dryden, who was principally aimed at, could never forgive the duke; and he has returned the compliment, by a moſt bitter ſatire, in the character of Zimri, drawn for the duke, in his poem of Abſalom and Ahitophel.

The only account we have of the duke's conduct in public affairs this year is, that he was an adviſer of the declaration of indulgence, by which the penal laws againſt diſſenters from the church of England were ſuſpended. The following year he was joined in a ſecret commiſſion, with the lords Arlington and Halifax, to Louis XIV. then at Utrecht, to concert meaſures with that monarch for carrying on a ſecond war againſt the

the Dutch; but as ſoon as the parliament met, in 1673, a complaint was exhibited againſt him in the houſe of commons, for the ſhare he had had in the late mal-adminiſtration of public affairs: upon which he laid the blame of the Dutch war upon lord Arlington, who was thereupon impeached; and he vindicated himſelf ſo ably, in a long ſpeech before the managers on the part of the houſe of commons, that the proſecution againſt him was laid aſide. From this time, the duke loſt all favour at court, and began openly to oppoſe the meaſures of adminiſtration. In 1675, he brought a bill into the houſe of lords for tolerating the diſſenters; and he was one of the managers for the houſe of lords in the famous conference they held that year with the commons, reſpecting the juriſdiction of the upper houſe, in the caſe of Dr. Shirley's appeal from the court of chancery againſt Sir John Fagg, a member of the houſe of commons; which appeal the commons had ſo highly reſented, that they ordered Dr. Shirley to be taken into cuſtody.—The debates at this conference ran ſo high, that the king, apprehenſive of the conſequences of the quarrel between the two houſes, prorogued the parliament to a term exceeding twelve months, and thence called the Long Prorogation. When this parliament met again, in February 1677, the duke of Buckingham made a florid ſpeech, as ſoon as the king had left the houſe, tending to ſhew that his majeſty had gone beyond the bounds of the royal prerogative in the late prorogation; that the parliament then aſſembled had no right to ſit, being in fact diſſolved; and that a new parliament ought to be called according to law. He was ſeconded in this declaration by the lords Shafteſbury, Saliſbury, and Wharton; and as they defended their aſſertion the next day, by ſtrong arguments from law and reaſon, it was moved, by the lords in adminiſtration, that they ſhould be committed to the Tower;—which being carried by a majority, they were accordingly ſent to that ſtate-priſon, where the earl of Shafteſ-

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bury was confined upwards of a year; but the duke of Buckingham, and the other lords, upon making their ſubmiſſion, in a petition to the king, were ſoon releaſed. Yet this did not prevent the duke's future vigorous oppoſition to the earl of Danby's meaſures, who was then at the head of the treaſury, and deemed the prime miniſter. In this view, upon the diſcovery of the popiſh plot by Dr. Tongue and Titus Oates, he was zealous in the proſecution of the accuſed, and became greatly inſtrumental to the impeachment of the earl of Danby, who eſcaped further puniſhment by pleading the king's pardon. He likewiſe attempted the removal of the duke of Lauderdale, by uſing his intereſt in the houſe of commons to procure an addreſs to the king for that purpoſe; but he failed in this deſign, for the king refuſed to gratify the commons, and even took upon himſelf the vindication of Lauderdale, who had the chief management of the affairs of Scotland during the greateſt part of this reign.

Though the Tory miniſtry was diſcarded in 1679, and a new one formed, conſiſting of a medley of both parties, in which lord Shafteſbury was included, yet Buckingham had given the king ſo much perſonal offence, by ſpeaking of his majeſty with the utmoſt contempt in all companies, that all the intereſt of his friends proved ineffectual to reſtore him to any employment about the court; and it is moſt probable that, from this time, he gave a looſe to diſſipation, and lived upon his eſtate (the greateſt part of which he ſpent before he died) without interfering with public affairs; for we have no further account of him as a public character during the remainder of his life. But the following particulars of his latter days are related by Mr. Fairfax: Upon the death of the king, he went into the country to his manor-ſeat at Helmeſley in Yorkſhire. There he paſſed his time in hunting and entertaining his friends, which he did a fortnight before his death, as pleaſantly and hoſpitably as ever he had done. He took

took cold one day after fox-hunting, by ſitting on the ground, which brought on an ague and fever, of which he died, after three days ſickneſs, at a tenant's houſe on Kirby-moor-ſide, a lordſhip of his own, near Helmeſley, in the year 1688. Anthony Wood ſays, that he died at his houſe in Yorkſhire; but the circumſtance of his ſitting upon the cold ground, when warm with the chace, renders it highly probable, that he was ſuddenly taken ill, and carried to his tenant's houſe, which might be an inn. And thus we may account for the pathetic reflections on his death, contained in the following elegant lines of Mr. Pope:

Behold what bleſſings wealth to life can lend!
And ſee what comfort it affords our end!
In the worſt inn's worſt room, with mat half-hung,
The floors of plaſter, and the walls of dung,
On once a flock-bed, but repair'd with ſtraw,
With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw,
The George and Garter dandling from that bed,
Where tawdry yellow ſtrove with dirty red,
Great Villiers *lies: alas! how changed from him,*
That life of pleaſure, and that ſoul of whim!
Gallant and gay, in Cliveden's proud alcove,
The bower of wanton Shrewſbury *and love;*
Or juſt as gay at council, in a ring
Of mimic'd ſtateſmen, and their merry king,
No wit to flatter left, of all his ſtore!
No fool to laugh at, which he valued more.
There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
And fame; this lord of uſeleſs thouſands ends.

Epiſtle on the Uſe of Riches, v. 297.

The duke of Buckingham's character may be collected from the accurate ſketch of it drawn by the pencils of thoſe great maſters of deſcriptive poetry, Dryden and Pope; and though the former was his profeſſed enemy on account of the Rehearſal, yet, upon a compariſon of *Zimri* with biſhop Burnet's account of the

the duke, the picture does not ſeem to be greatly overcharged. His grace had no children by his ducheſs, ſo that in him the title, in the family of *Villiers*, became extinct. It was afterwards transferred to that of *Sheffield*.

The literary abilities of the duke of Buckingham have intitled him to rank with the firſt of the minor Britiſh poets. His dramatic pieces, beſides *The Rehearſal*, are, *The Chances*, a comedy, altered from Fletcher, and ſtill occaſionally repreſented. *The Reſtauration*, or *Right will take place*, a tragi-comedy. The battle of *Sedgmoor*, a farce. And *The Militant Couple*; or, *The Huſband may thank himſelf*, a fragment. His other poetical writings conſiſt of ſmall poems, complimentary and ſatirical. One is intitled, *The Loſt Miſtreſs*, a complaint againſt the counteſs of Shrewſbury, as is ſuppoſed. This abandoned woman was ſo loſt to all ſenſe of honour, ſhame, or even humanity, that ſhe is charged with having excited a duel between the duke and her huſband, in which the duke killed the earl; and it is added, that ſhe not only held the duke's horſe in the diſguiſe of a page, while the duel was fought, but afterwards went to bed with him, before he had changed his ſhirt, ſtained with the blood of her huſband.

But how will the reader be aſtoniſhed to find, that ſuch a profeſſed debauchee as Buckingham wrote alſo ſome proſe compoſitions on ſerious ſubjects, which would have done honour to the pen of a divine, Such however are, his "Short Diſcourſe upon the Reaſonableneſs of Men's having a Religion or Worſhip of God," which was publiſhed about three years before his death, and paſſed through ſeveral editions; his "Eſſay on Reaſon and Religion;" and another on "Human Reaſon." Of a leſs ſerious caſt, but containing much wit, and ſome juſt, though ſevere ſtrictures on the Romiſh religion, is his account of a conference between himſelf and father Fitzgerald, whom king James ſent to him, during a fit of illneſs, to convert him to the Romiſh church. Several of his ſpeeches in parliament

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have likewiſe been publiſhed, which, together with moſt of the above mentioned tracts and poems, were printed in a miſcellany, under the title of "The Works of his Grace, George Villiers, late Duke of Buckingham. London, 1715, two volumes octavo. They contain, however, various poems and ſpeeches of other eminent perſons.

*** *Authorities.* Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Memoirs of the Life of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, by Mr. Brian Fairfax, Lond. 4to. 1758. Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times. Biog. Britannica.

SUPPLEMENT.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN SELDEN.

[A D. 1584, to 1654.]

THIS eminent lawyer, and learned critic, was deſcended from a good family, and born at Salvinton, near Terring, in Suſſex, the 16th of December 1584. He was educated at the free-ſchool in Chicheſter; and, at ſixteen years of age, was ſent to Hart-hall, in Oxford, where he continued about three years.—Then he entered himſelf of Clifford's Inn, London, in order to ſtudy the law; and about two years after removed to the Inner Temple, where he ſoon acquired a great reputation by his learning. His firſt friendſhips were with Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Camden, and Uſher, all of them learned in antiquities; which was alſo Mr. Selden's favourite object. In 1610, he began to diſtinguiſh himſelf by publications in this way, and put out two pieces that year: "Jani Anglorum

rum facies altera," and "De Duello, or of Single Combat." In 1612, he publiſhed notes and illuſtrations on the firſt eighteen ſongs in Michael Drayton's "Poly-Olbion:" and, the year after, wrote verſes in Greek, Latin, and Engliſh, upon Browne's "Britannia's Paſtorals;" which, with divers poems prefixed to the works of other authors, occaſioned Sir John Suckling to give him a place in his "Seſſion of the Poets." In 1614, came out his—"Titles of Honour,"—a work much eſteemed at home and abroad; and which, "as to what concerns our nobility and gentry (ſays biſhop Nicholſon), all will allow ought firſt to be peruſed, for the gaining a general notion of the diſtinction of a degree, from an emperor down to a country gentleman." In 1616, he publiſhed "Notes on Forteſcue's De laudibus legum Angliæ;" and, in 1617, "De Diis Syris Syntagmata Duo," which was reprinted at Leyden, 1629, in 8vo. by Ludovicus de Dieu, after it had been reviſed and enlarged by Selden himſelf.

Mr. Selden was not then above three and thirty years of age; and yet he had ſhown himſelf a great philologiſt, antiquary, herald, and linguiſt: and his name was ſo wonderfully advanced, not only at home, but in foreign countries, that he was actually then become, what he was afterwards uſually ſtyled, the great dictator of learning to the Engliſh nation. In 1618, when he was in his thirty-fourth year, his "Hiſtory of Tithes" was printed in 4to.; in the preface to which he reproaches the clergy with ignorance and lazineſs, with having nothing to keep up their credit, but beard, title, and habit, their ſtudies not reaching farther than the breviary, the poſtils, and polyanthea: in the work itſelf he endeavours to ſhew, that tithes are not due under Chriſtianity by divine right, though he allows the clergy's title to them by the laws of the land. This book gave great offence to the clergy, and was animadverted on by ſeveral writers; by Dr. Richard Montague, afterwards biſhop of Norwich, in particular. The author was

was alſo called before ſome lords of the high-commiſſion, and alſo of the privy-council, and obliged to make a ſubmiſſion: when he expreſſed his concern for publiſhing a book, which, againſt his intention, had given offence, yet without recanting any thing contained in it.

In 1621, king James I. being diſpleaſed with the parliament, and having impriſoned ſeveral members, whom he ſuſpected of oppoſing his meaſures, ordered Mr. Selden likewiſe to be committed to the cuſtody of the ſheriff of London: for though he was not then a member of the houſe of commons, yet he had been ſent for and conſulted by them, and had given his opinion very ſtrongly in favour of their privileges, in oppoſition to the court. However, by the intereſt of Andrews, biſhop of Winchester, he, with the other gentlemen, was ſet at liberty in five weeks. He then returned to his ſtudies, and wrote and publiſhed learned works, as uſual. In 1623, he was choſen a burgeſs for Lancaſter; in 1625, he was choſen again for Great Bedwin in Wiltſhire; and, in this firſt parliament of king Charles I. he declared himſelf warmly againſt the duke of Buckingham; and, when that nobleman was impeached in 1626, was one of the managers of the articles againſt him.

He oppoſed the court-party the three following years with great vigour in many ſpeeches. The king, having diſſolved the parliament in 1628, ordered ſeveral members of the houſe of commons to be committed to the Tower. Mr. Selden, being one of this number, inſiſted upon the benefit of the laws, and refuſed to make any ſubmiſſion to the court; upon which he was removed to the King's-bench priſon. He was releaſed the latter end of the year, though it does not appear how; only, that the parliament, in 1646, ordered him 5000l. for the loſſes he had ſuſtained on that occaſion. In 1650, he was again committed to cuſtody, with the earls of Bedford and Clare, Sir Robert Cotton, and Mr. St. John, being accuſed of having diſperſed a libel, intitled,

titled, "A Propoſition for his Majeſty's Service to bridle the impertinency of parliaments;" but it was proved, that Sir Robert Dudley, then living in the duke of Tuſcany's dominions, was the author. All theſe various impriſonments and tumults gave little interruption to his ſtudies; but he proceeded, in his old way to write and publiſh books.

King James had ordered Mr. Selden to make collections proper to ſhow the right of the crown of England to the dominion of the ſea, and he had engaged in the work; but upon the affront, which he had received by his impriſonment, he laid it aſide. However, in 1634, a diſpute ariſing between the Engliſh and the Dutch concerning the herring-fiſhery upon the Britiſh coaſt, and Grotius having before publiſhed, in 1609, his "Mare Liberum" in favour of the latter, Mr. Selden was prevailed upon by archbiſhop Laud, who, though he did not love his principles in church and ſtate affairs, yet could not help revering him for his learning and morals, to draw up his "Mare Clauſum;" and it was accordingly publiſhed in 1636. This book recommended him highly to the favour of the court, and he might have had any thing he would; but his attachment to his books, and his zeal for the liberties of his country, made him averſe to court preferment. In 1640, he publiſhed, "De Jure Naturali & Gentium juxta diſciplinam Hebræorum," folio. Mr. Puffendorff applauds this work highly; but his tranſlator, Barbeyrac, obſerves, with regard to it, "that beſides the extreme diſorder and obſcurity, which are juſtly to be cenſured in his manner of writing, he does not derive his principles of the law of nature from the pure light of reaſon, but merely from the ſeven precepts given to Noah; and frequently contents himſelf by citing the deciſions of the Rabbins, without giving himſelf the trouble to examine whether they be juſt or not." Monſieur Le Clerc ſays, "that, in this book, Mr. Selden has only copied the Rabbins, and ſcarcely ever reaſons at all. His rabbinical

binical principles are founded upon an uncertain Jewiſh tradition, namely, that God gave to Noah ſeven precepts to be obſerved by all mankind; which, if it ſhould be denied, the Jews would find a difficulty to prove. Beſides, his ideas are very imperfect and embarraſſed." There is certainly ſome foundation for this; and what is here ſaid concerning this particular work may be more or leſs applied to all he wrote. Mr. Selden had a great memory and prodigious learning; and theſe had oftentimes the ſame effect on him, as they have always on men of lower abilities, ſuch as Dodwell, for inſtance: that is, they checked and impeded the uſe of his reaſoning faculty, perplexed and embarraſſed his ideas, and crowded his writings with citations and authorities to ſupply the place of ſenſe and argument.

The ſame year, 1640, he was choſen member of parliament for the univerſity of Oxford; and though he was againſt the court, yet, in 1642, the king had thoughts of taking the ſeal from the lord-keeper, Littleton, and giving it to him. The lord Clarendon tells us, that the lord Falkland and himſelf, to whom his majeſty referred the conſideration of that affair, "did not doubt of Mr. Selden's affection to the king:" but withal they knew him ſo well, that they concluded he would abſolutely refuſe the place, if it were offered him. "He was in years (continues the noble hiſtorian), and of a tender conſtitution: he had for many years enjoyed his eaſe, which he loved; was rich, and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of his own bed, for any preferment, which he had never affected." The noble hiſtorian might have added, that he was too much attached to the liberties of his country, to be at all inclined to promote the king's views. In 1643, he was appointed one of the lay-members to ſit in the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, in which he frequently perplexed thoſe divines with great learning: and as Mr. Whitlocke relates, "ſometimes when they had cited a text of ſcripture to prove their aſſertion, he

would tell them, perhaps in their little pocket-bibles with gilt leaves, which they would often pull out and read, the tranſlation might be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew ſignified thus and thus; and ſo would totally ſilence them."

About this time he took the covenant; and the ſame year, 1643, was, by the parliament, appointed keeper of the records in the Tower. In 1644, he was elected one of the twelve commiſſioners of the admiralty; and the ſame year, was nominated to the maſterſhip of Trinity-college in Cambridge, which he did not think proper to accept. About this time he did great ſervices to the univerſity of Oxford, as appears from ſeveral letters written to him by that univerſity, which are printed; and indeed he never concurred in any violent or unjuſt meaſures, but often oppoſed, and always diſcountenanced them. Upon the publication of the *Eikon Baſilike*, Cromwell employed all his intereſt to engage him to write an anſwer to that book; but he refuſed. In the beginning of 1654, his health began to decline; and he died on the 30th of November that year, in White-friars, at the houſe of Elizabeth, counteſs of Kent, with whom he had lived ſome years in ſuch intimacy, that they were reported to be as man and wife; and Dr. Wilkins ſuppoſes that the wealth which Mr. Selden left at his death was chiefly owing to the generoſity of that counteſs: but there is no good reaſon for either of theſe ſurmiſes. He was buried in the Temple church, where a monument was erected to him: and archbiſhop Uſher preached his funeral ſermon. He left a moſt valuable and curious library to his executors, Mathew Hale, John Vaughan, Edward Heywood, and Rowland Jewks, Eſquires; which they generouſly would have beſtowed on the ſociety of the Inner Temple, if a proper place had been provided to receive it; but, this being neglected, they gave it to the univerſity of Oxford.

Mr. Selden's extenſive learning procured him the eſteem

eſteem of all the learned men of his time in Europe; and even the celebrated Grotius, with a generoſity uncommon in literary rivals, ſtyles him, "The Glory of the Engliſh nation." But the nobleſt teſtimony of his great abilities, is that of his friend the earl of Clarendon, with whoſe ſketch of his character we ſhall cloſe theſe memoirs.

"Mr. Selden was a perſon (ſays he), whom no character can flatter, or tranſmit in any expreſſions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of ſo ſtupendous learning in all kinds, and in all languages, as may appear from his excellent and tranſcendant writings, that a man would have thought he had been intirely converſant among books, and had never ſpent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courteſy, and affability, were ſuch, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the beſt courts, but that his goodnature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding. His ſtyle in all his writings ſeems harſh, and ſometimes obſcure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abſtruſe ſubjects of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men, but to a little undervaluing the beauty of a ſtyle, and too much propenſity to the language of antiquity; but, in his converſation, he was the moſt clear diſcourſer, and had the beſt faculty in making hard things eaſy, and preſenting them to the underſtanding, of any man that hath been known."

His works were collected by Dr. David Wilkins, and printed at London in three volumes, folio, 1726. The two firſt volumes contain his Latin works; and the third, his Engliſh. The editor has prefixed a long life of the author, and added ſeveral pieces never before publiſhed; particularly, letters, poems, &c.

*** *Authorities.* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Life of Selden, by Wilkins. Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library.

THE LIFE OF

DR. WILLIAM HARVEY.

[A. D. 1578, to 1657.]

THIS celebrated phyſician was the eldeſt ſon of Thomas Harvey, a gentleman of Folkſton in Kent, where he was born in 1578. At ten years of age he was ſent to the grammar-ſchool at Canterbury; and, in May, 1593, when he was ſomewhat turned of fifteen years of age, he was removed to Gonvil and Caius College, in the univerſity of Cambridge. Having ſpent ſix years in this univerſity, in the ſtudy of logic and natural philoſophy, as a proper foundation for the ſtudy of phyſic, he travelled abroad, and went to Padua in Italy, where he attended the lectures of the famous Fabricius of Aquapendente on anatomy, of Minodaus on pharmacy, and of Caſſerius on chirurgery; and, having taken the degree of doctor of phyſic in that univerſity, when he was twenty-four years of age, he returned home to his native country.

After his return to England, he took the degree of doctor of phyſic at Cambridge, and, going to London, entered upon the practice of his profeſſion there. In the thirtieth year of his age, he was choſen a fellow of the college of phyſicians in London, and, ſoon after, he was appointed phyſician to St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital.

On the 4th of Auguſt 1615, he was appointed by the college of phyſicians to read the anatomy and chirurgery lecture founded by Dr. Richard Caldwall. And it was probably on this occaſion, that he firſt propoſed his ſentiments concerning the uſe of the heart, and the circulation of the blood. For, in an anatomical treatiſe, written about this time, and ſtill extant in his own hand, the chief principles of his diſcovery upon this ſubject are to be found. But, in the firſt lectures here-

upon,

upon, he only opened, as it were, his ſentiments upon the ſubject; but, when he had afterwards examined and diſcuſſed his hypotheſis more thoroughly, fortified it with arguments, and confirmed it by repeated experiments made before the college of phyſicians, he publiſhed at Frankfort, in 1628, in quarto, his "Exercitationem Anatomicam de Cordis et Sanguinis Motu." Of this book, whether we conſider the importance of the ſubject, the clearneſs of the method, or the ſtrength of reaſoning with which Dr. Harvey ſupports his opinion, we may truly aſſert, that there is ſcarcely any treatiſe on a ſimilar ſubject to be compared with it.

Dr. Harvey's diſcovery was of the greateſt importance in the whole art of phyſic. But no man who had attained great excellence has ever eſcaped the attacks of envy. Diſcoveries or improvements in any art or ſcience have generally been viewed with a very jealous eye by the bulk of the profeſſors of thoſe arts or ſciences. And accordingly Harvey's diſcovery concerning the circulation of the blood brought upon him many opponents of his own profeſſion. Their ſeveral attempts to refute his book were indeed without ſucceſs; but ſome of his antagoniſts ſeem to have been mean enough to endeavour to obſtruct him in his private practice; for it appears, that Harvey complained to one of his friends, that he was much leſs frequently called upon to viſit the ſick, after he had publiſhed his book concerning the motion of the heart.

Harvey's adverſaries may be divided into two claſſes, by which he was attacked on different ſides, and by very different arguments. Of theſe the one party endeavoured to make it appear, that Harvey's hypotheſis was falſe; whilſt the other admitted it to be well-founded, but aſſerted that he was not the author of the diſcovery. One of the firſt who attacked Harvey's principles concerning the circulation, was Æmilius Pariſanus, a phyſician of Venice; but he was oppoſed by Sir George Ent, of the college of phyſicians, be-

tween

tween whom and Harvey there was a great friendſhip, in his "Apologia pro Sanguinis Circulatione." Harvey was alſo attacked by Riolanus, a French phyſician and anatomiſt, but he anſwered him himſelf in his "Exercitationes Anatomicæ duæ de Circulatione ſanguinis, ad J. Riolanum J. Filium."

Thoſe, who endeavoured to deprive Harvey of the honour of diſcovering the circulation, aſſerted that it was known to preceding writers. Vander Linden took much pains to prove that it was known to Hippocrates; others ſaid it was known to Galen: others to Michael Servetus; and others to Columbus, an anatomiſt; and Mr. Bayle afterwards affirmed very confidently, that it was known to Caeſalpinus. Paſſages were cited from theſe authors to prove this; but it has been ſhown very clearly by Dr. Freind, in his Hiſtory of Phyſic, as well as by others, that the paſſages cited do by no means anſwer the purpoſe for which they were produced. The honour of diſcovering the circulation was alſo attributed to the famous Father Paul. This was occaſioned by the following incident. The Venetian ambaſſador in England was preſented by Dr. Harvey with his book on the circulation of the blood; which, on his return to Venice, he lent to Father Paul, who tranſcribed the moſt remarkable particulars out of it. Theſe tranſcripts, after Father Paul's death, came into the hands of his executors, which induced ſeveral perſons to imagine that he was the author of them, and gave riſe to the report that he had diſcovered the circulation of the blood. But Dr. Harvey had letters from Fra. Fulgentio, Father Paul's moſt intimate friend, which ſet the affair in a clear light. Upon the whole, we may conclude with the words of Dr. Freind, "As this great diſcovery was intirely owing to our countryman, ſo he has explained it with all the clearneſs imaginable; and though much has been written upon that ſubject, I may venture to ſay, his own book is the ſhorteſt, the plaineſt, and the moſt convincing of any,

as we may be ſatisfied, if we look into the many apologies written in defence of the circulation."

On the third of February 1625, letters were granted by king James I. permitting Dr. Harvey to wait and attend on his majeſty in the ſame manner as the phyſicians in ordinary did, with a promiſe that he ſhould ſucceed to that office, on the firſt vacancy. And he was afterwards appointed phyſician to king Charles I. He adhered to that prince upon the breaking-out of the civil wars, and attended his majeſty at the battle of Edge-hill, and from thence to Oxford; and, in 1642, he was incorporated doctor of phyſic in that univerſity. In 1645, by the king's influence, he was elected warden of Merton-college; but, upon the ſurrendering of Oxford the year after to the parliament, he was obliged to quit that office; and, retiring to London, he paſſed his time privately in the neighbourhood of that city.

In 1651, he publiſhed his "Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium: quibus accedunt quædam de Partu, de Membranis ac Humoribus Uteri, et de Conceptione." This is a curious and valuable work, and would certainly have been more ſo, had not the civil war occaſioned the loſs of ſome of his papers. For although he had permiſſion from the parliament to attend the king upon his majeſty's leaving Whitehall, yet his houſe in London was in his abſence plundered of all the furniture; and his adverſaria, with a great number of anatomical obſervations, relating eſpecially to the generation of inſects, were carried off, and never afterwards recovered by him. This loſs he greatly lamented.

Dr. Harvey had the happineſs to live to ſee the doctrine of the circulation generally received. And, in 1652, a ſtatue was erected to his honour by the college of phyſicians. Two years after, he was choſen preſident of the college in his abſence; and coming there the day after, he acknowledged his great obligations to the electors for the honour they had done him, but declined accepting of the office, on account of his age and

and weakneſs. As he had no children, he made the college his heirs, and ſettled his paternal eſtate upon them in July following. He had three years before built them a room to aſſemble in, and a library; and, in 1656, he brought the deeds of his eſtate and preſented them to the college. He was then preſent at the firſt feaſt, inſtituted by himſelf, to be continued annually, together with a commemoration ſpeech in Latin, to be ſpoken on the 18th of October, in honour of the benefactors of the college. He died on the 3d of June 1657, and was carried to be interred at Hampſtead, in the county of Eſſex, where a monument was erected to his memory. It has been reported, that Dr. Harvey, before his death, was deprived of his ſight, and thereupon drank a glaſs of opium, and expired ſoon after: but this report appears to have been intirely without foundation.

The following character of this great phyſician is given by the author of the Britiſh Biography: 'Dr. Harvey was not only eminently learned in the ſciences 'more immediately connected with his profeſſion, but 'was alſo well verſed in other branches of literature. He 'was well read in ancient and modern hiſtory; and 'when he was wearied with too cloſe an attention to 'the ſtudy of nature, he would relax his mind by diſcourſing with his friends on political ſubjects, and the 'ſtate of public affairs. He took great pleaſure in reading ſome of the ancient poets, and eſpecially Virgil, 'with whoſe works he was exceedingly delighted.— 'He was laborioufly ſtudious, regular, and virtuous in 'his life, and had a ſtrong ſenſe of religion. In his familiar converſation there was a mixture of gravity 'and cheerfulneſs; he expreſſed himſelf with great perſpicuity, and with much grace and dignity; and was 'eminent for his great candour and moderation. He 'never endeavoured to detract from the merit of other 'men; but appeared always to think that the virtues of 'others were to be imitated, and not envied. And in the

'controverſy

'controverſy which was occaſioned by his diſcovery of 'the circulation, he ſeemed much more ſolicitous to 'diſcover truth, than to obtain fame. In the latter part 'of his life he was greatly afflicted with the gout. He 'married the daughter of Launcelot Browne, doctor of 'phyſic, but had no children by her.'

An elegant and correct edition of Dr. Harvey's works, in one volume quarto, was publiſhed by the college of phyſicians at London in 1766, with a life of him in Latin prefixed.

*** *Authorities.* Biographica Britannica; and Britiſh Biography, 8vo. vol. IV.

MEMOIRS OF

SAMUEL COOPER, PAINTER.

[A D. 1609, to 1672.]

SAMUEL COOPER was born in London, in the year 1609, and bred up under the care and inſtructions of Mr. John Hoſkins, his uncle, a limner of ſome eminence; but he derived the moſt conſiderable advantages from the obſervations which he made on the works of Vandyke, inſomuch that he was commonly ſtyled "The Vandyke in Little." His pencil was generally confined to a head only; and indeed below that part he was not always equally ſucceſsful. But for a face, and all the dependencies of it, the graceful and becoming air, the ſtrength, relievo, and noble ſpirit, the ſoftneſs and tender livelineſs of fleſh and blood, and the looſe and gentle management of the hair, his talent was ſo extraordinary, that he was conſidered as at leaſt equal to the moſt famous Italians: and it is ſaid, that hardly any one of his predeceſſors had ever been able to ſhew ſo much perfection in ſo narrow a compaſs. The high prices his works ſold at, and the great eſteem they were

were in at Rome, Venice, and in France, were abundant proofs of their great worth, and extended the fame of this maſter throughout all parts of Europe. He ſo far exceeded his maſter and uncle, Mr. Hoſkins, that he became jealous of him: and, finding that the court was better pleaſed with his nephew's performances than with his, he took him into partnerſhip with him. His jealouſy, however, increaſed, and he diſſolved it; leaving our artiſt to ſet up for himſelf, and to carry, as he did, moſt of the buſineſs of that time with him. He drew king Charles II. and his queen, the ducheſs of Cleveland, the duke of York, and moſt of the court: but the two moſt famous pieces of his were thoſe of Oliver Cromwell, and of one Swingfield. The French king offered 150l. for the former, but could not have it: and Mr. Cooper carrying the latter with him to France, it was much admired there, and introduced him to the favour of that court. He likewiſe did ſeveral large limnings in an unuſual ſize for the court of England; for which his widow received a penſion during her life from the crown.

As Mr. Cooper had great abilities in painting, ſo he was alſo eminently ſkilled in muſic; and was eſteemed one of the beſt luteniſts of his time. He ſpent ſeveral years of his life abroad, was perſonally acquainted with the greateſt men in France, Holland, and his own country, and by his works more univerſally known in all parts of Europe. He died at London in 1672, at ſixty-three years of age, and was buried in Pancras church in the fields; where there is a marble monument ſet over him, with a Latin inſcription upon it. He had an elder brother, Mr. Alexander Cooper, who, together with him, was alſo brought up to limning by Mr. Hoſkins, their uncle. Alexander performed well in miniature; and, going beyond ſea, became limner to Chriſtiana queen of Sweden, yet was far exceeded by his brother Samuel. He alſo did landſcapes in water-colours extremely

tremely well, and was accounted an admirable draughtſman.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN MILTON.

[A. D. 1608, to 1674.]

THIS great and illuſtrious poet was deſcended from an ancient family of that name, at Milton, near Abingdon, in Oxfordſhire. The family had been long ſeated there, as appears by the monuments ſtill to be ſeen in the church of Milton, till one of them, having taken the unfortunate ſide in the conteſts between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, was deprived of his eſtate, except what he held by his wife. Our poet's grandfather, whoſe name was John Milton, was underranger, or reaper, of the foreſt of Shotover, near Halton, in Oxfordſhire, and being a zealous Papiſt, he diſinherited his ſon for having very early in life embraced the Proteſtant faith; upon which he went to London, purſued the buſineſs of a ſcrivener, and marrying a gentlewoman of a good family, he purchaſed a houſe and ſettled in Bread-ſtreet, where this ſublime poet, his eldeſt ſon, was born in 1608. But a man of Milton's genius needs not have the circumſtances of birth called in to render him illuſtrious; he reflects the higheſt honour upon his family, which receives from him more glory than the longeſt deſcent of years can give.

Milton was both educated under a domeſtic tutor, and likewiſe at St. Paul's School, under Mr. Alexander Gill, where he made, by his indefatigable application, an extraordinary progreſs in learning. From his twelfth year he generally ſat up the greateſt part of the night at his ſtudies, which occaſioning frequent head-achs, proved very prejudicial to his eyes, and, in his own o-

pinion, laid the foundation of his future blindneſs. In the year 1625, he was entered at Chriſt's College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards biſhop of Roſs in Ireland. The ſame year he wrote a Latin elegy on the death of Dr. Andrews, biſhop of Wincheſter, and a fine poem on the diſcovery of the gunpowder-plot; but, before that time, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſeveral Latin and Engliſh poems, and in his moſt juvenile compoſitions had diſcovered a capacity ſuperior to his age.

After he had taken the degree of maſter of arts, in 1631, he left the univerſity, and for the ſpace of five years lived with his parents at their houſe at Horton, near Colnbrook, in Buckinghamſhire, where his father, having acquired a competent fortune, thought proper to retire, and ſpend the remainder of his days.

His father deſigned him for the church, and for ſome time could not be diverted from his intention; but, at length, young Milton having expreſſed himſelf very freely, in letters to his friends, againſt the ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles required from all perſons on taking orders; and likewiſe againſt the adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical affairs in the church of England; his father had too much honour to force his conſcience.—His objections are ſtated in the cleareſt manner, by his own maſterly pen, in his "Introduction to the Reaſon of Church Government."

In his retirement at Horton, which laſted five years, he read over all the Greek and Latin authors, and cloſely applied himſelf to the ſtudy of hiſtory, and to improving himſelf in poetry.

In the year 1634 he produced his Maſque of Comus, performed at Ludlow-caſtle, before John earl of Bridgewater, then preſident of Wales. It appears from the edition of this maſque, publiſhed by Mr. Henry Lawes, that the principal performers were, the lord Barclay, Mr. Thomas Egerton, the lady Alice Egerton, and Mr. Lawes himſelf, who repreſented an attendant ſpirit. In

1637,

1637, our author publiſhed his Lycidas. In this poem he laments the death of his friend Mr. Edward King, who was drowned in his paſſage from Cheſter, on the Iriſh ſeas, in 1637. It was printed the year following at Cambridge, in quarto, in a collection of Latin and Engliſh poems upon Mr. King's death, with whom he had contracted the ſtrongeſt friendſhip. The Latin epitaph informs us, that Mr. King was ſon of Sir John King, ſecretary for Ireland to queen Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. that he was a fellow of Chriſt's College, Cambridge, and was drowned in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

It was within this period of time that he alſo compoſed his well known poems intitled *L'Allegro* and *Il Penſeroſo*. His poetical fame now began to be circulated; and, as it frequently happens to men of great genius, an attempt was made to blaſt his laurels in the bud.--- A ſlight circumſtance was ſwelled into a calumnious charge: he wrote a Latin elegy to his intimate friend Charles Diodati, a learned foreigner, in which he reflected on the two univerſities, on account of the ignorance of the profeſſors, and the debauchery that prevailed in them; upon which his enemies reported that he was expelled from Cambridge for ſome miſdemeanor, or left it in diſcontent, becauſe he could not get any preferment there; and that he had ſpent his time ſince in an irregular, licentious courſe of life at London.--- Theſe ſcandalous reports were totally void of truth; he did indeed make frequent excurſions to London, but only to buy books, and to improve himſelf in mathematics and muſic.

Upon the death of his mother, Milton obtained leave of his father to travel; and having waited upon Sir Henry Wotton, formerly ambaſſador at Venice, and then provoſt of Eaton-college, to whom he communicated his deſign, that gentleman wrote a very friendly letter to him, dated from the college, April 16. 1638, which is printed among the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, and

in Dr. Newton's Life of Milton. It contains directions for his route; recommendations to perſons of eminence abroad; and an aſſurance of more at every place where he might reſide any time. Immediately after the receipt of this letter our author ſet out for France, accompained only by one ſervant, who attended him through all his travels.

At Paris, Milton was introduced to the famous Hugo Grotius; from thence he went to Florence, Sienna, Rome, and Naples; in all which places he was entertained with the utmoſt civility, by perſons of the firſt diſtinction.

When our poet was at Naples, he was introduced to the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptiſta Manſo, marquis of Villa, a Neapolitan nobleman, celebrated for his taſte in the liberal arts, to whom Taſſo addreſſes his "Dialogue on Friendſhip," and whom he likewiſe mentions in his "Gieruſalemme Liberata," with great honour. This nobleman ſhewed extraordinary civilities to Milton, frequently viſited him at his lodgings, and accompanied him when he went to ſee the ſeveral curioſities of the city. He was not content with giving our author theſe exterior marks of reſpect only; but he honoured him with a Latin diſtich in his praiſe, which is printed before Milton's Latin poems. Milton, no doubt, was highly pleaſed with ſuch condeſcenſion and eſteem from a perſon of the marquis of Villa's quality; and, as an evidence of his gratitude, he preſented the marquis, at his departure from Naples, his eclogue, intitled, "Manſus;" which, ſays Dr. Newton, is well worth reading among his Latin poems; ſo that it may be reckoned a peculiar felicity in the marquis of Villa's life, to have been celebrated both by Taſſo and Milton, the greateſt poets of their reſpective countries.

Having ſeen the fineſt parts of Italy, and converſed with men of the firſt diſtinction, he was preparing to paſs over into Sicily and Greece, when the news from England, that a civil war was likely to lay his country

in

in blood, diverted his purpoſe; for as by his political principles he was attached to the parliamentary intereſt, he thought it a mark of abject cowardice for a lover of his country to take his pleaſure abroad, while the friends of liberty were contending at home for the rights of human nature. He reſolved therefore to return by the way of Rome, though he was diſſuaded from purſuing that reſolution by the merchants, who were informed by their correſpondents, that the Engliſh Jeſuits there were forming plots againſt his life, in caſe he ſhould return thither, on account of the great freedom with which he had treated their religion, and the boldneſs he diſcovered in demonſtrating the abſurdity of the Popiſh tenets. But, ſtedfaſt in his reſolution, he went to Rome the ſecond time, and ſtayed there two months more, neither concealing his name, nor declining any diſputations to which his antagoniſts in religious opinions invited him: he eſcaped, however, the ſecret machinations of the Jeſuits, and came ſafe to Florence, where he was received by his friends with as much tenderneſs as if he had returned to his own country. Here he remained two months, as he had done in his former viſit, excepting only an excurſion of a few days to Lucca; and then croſſing the Appenines and paſſing through Bologna and Ferrara, he arrived at Venice, in which city he ſpent a month; and having ſhipped off the books that he had collected in his travels, he took his courſe through Verona, Milan, and along the lake Leman to Geneva. In this city he continued ſome time, meeting there with people of his own principles, and contracted an intimate friendſhip with Giovanni Deodati, the learned profeſſor of divinity, whoſe Annotations on the Bible are publiſhed in Engliſh; and from thence, returning to France the ſame way he had gone before, he arrived ſafe in England, after an abſence of fifteen months, in which he had ſeen much of the world, read the characters of famous men, examined the policy of different countries, and made more extenſive improvements

than travellers of an inferior genius, and leſs penetration, can be ſuppoſed to do in double the time.

Soon after his return he took a handſome houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet, and undertook the education of his ſiſter's two ſons, upon a plan of his own. And being ſtrongly ſolicited by ſome gentlemen, his intimate friends, to whom he could not give a denial, to impart the ſame benefits of learning to their ſons eſpecially as the trouble was little more with many than with a few, he conſented; and having now occaſion for ſome ſyſtem of education, becauſe he diſapproved of the common methods, he planned his academical inſtitution, afterwards ſet forth in his Treatiſe on Education, in which he leads his ſcholar from Lilly, as he expreſſes it, to his commencing maſter of arts. His ſucceſs with his pupils was anſwerable to his capacity for the undertaking, and in this kind of ſcholaſtic ſolitude he continued ſome time; but he was not ſo much immerſed in academical ſtudies, as to remain an indifferent ſpectator of what was acted upon the public theatre of his country.

The nation being in a great ferment in 1641, and the clamour againſt Epiſcopacy running very high, Milton, who diſcovered how much inferior in eloquence and learning the Puritan miniſters, in general, were to the biſhops, engaged warmly with the former in ſupport of the common cauſe, and exerciſed all the powers of reaſon and learning in endeavouring to overthrow the prelatical eſtabliſhment, and accordingly publiſhed five tracts relating to church-government: they were all printed at London in quarto. The firſt was intitled, "Reformation touching Church Diſcipline in England, and the Cauſes that have hitherto hindered it: In Two Books: written to a Friend." The ſecond was of "Prelatical Epiſcopacy," written againſt archbiſhop Uſher. The third was "The Reaſon of Church Government urged againſt Prelacy, in Two Books." The fourth was, "Animadverſions upon the Remonſtrant's Defence againſt Smectymnuus;" or, as the title-page is, in ſome copies

copies, "An Apology for Smectymnuus, with the Reaſon of Church Government."

In the year 1643, Milton married Mary, the eldeſt daughter of Richard Powell, Eſq. of Forreſt-hill, in Oxfordſhire. This lady had not lived with her huſband much above a month, before ſhe procured letters from her father, inviting her to pay a viſit to her relations during the ſummer-ſeaſon, to which Milton readily conſented, provided ſhe would return at Michaelmas. In the mean time he applied himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies; and his chief amuſement was now and then in an evening to viſit the lady Margaret Lee, daughter to the earl of Marlborough, lord-high-treaſurer of England, and preſident of the privy-council under James I. This lady Margaret, being a woman of excellent underſtanding, took great delight in Milton's converſation, and ſhowed particular reſpect to him, as did likewiſe her huſband captain Hobſon. What a regard Milton had for her, he has left upon record in a ſonnet to her praiſe, extant among his other poems.

At the appointed time, Milton expected the return of his wife, but having no tidings of her, he wrote to her, but he received no anſwer. Repeated letters produced none; upon which he ſent a ſpecial meſſenger with a letter, deſiring her return; but ſhe poſitively refuſed, and diſmiſſed the meſſenger with contempt. Milton's biographers have aſſigned various reaſons for this extraordinary conduct; ſome ſuppoſe that ſhe had conceived a diſlike to her huſband's perſon, or to his retired and philoſophical manner of life, having been accuſtomed to gaiety and company. Whatever was the cauſe, Milton was ſo highly incenſed that he reſolved to repudiate her; and it was upon this occaſion that he publiſhed, "The Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce;" wherein he endeavoured to prove, that indiſpoſition, unfitneſs, or contrariety of mind, proceeding from any unchangeable cauſe in nature, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal ſociety, which are ſolace and peace, are greater reaſons of divorce than adultery, or natu-

ral

ral frigidity, eſpecially if there be no children, and there be mutual conſent for ſeparation. This piece he at firſt publiſhed without his name; but the ſtyle having betrayed the author, he publiſhed a ſecond edition, much augmented, with his name, and dedicated it to the parliament of England, and to the aſſembly of divines, deſiring the ſubject might be taken into ſerious conſideration. This novel doctrine now making a great noiſe, he was warmly attacked from the preſs, which obliged him to ſupport his own opinion, by the authority of Martin Bucer, on divorces. But it being ſtill objected, that his doctrine was not ſcriptural, he publiſhed in 1645, his "Tetrachardon; or, Expoſitions upon the Four chief Paſſages in Scripture," which treat of marriage, and nullities of marriage. The aſſembly of divines ſo highly diſapproved of his books, that they ſummoned him before the houſe of lords; but he was diſmiſſed without even a reprimand. And a pamphlet appearing againſt him, intitled, "Divorce at Pleaſure," and another, called, "An Anſwer to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce," he publiſhed his "Colaſterion, or Reply;" and here ended the conteſt. But ſoon after, Milton reſolved to put his opinions in practice, for he actually paid his addreſſes to a young lady, deſigning to marry her; which, coming to the knowledge of his wife, brought her to ſubmiſſion; and a reconciliation was effected in the following manner: he had a relation, one Blackborough, living in St. Martin's-le-Grand, whom he often viſited; this gentleman being in the ſcheme, one day when he was viſiting, it was contrived that his wife ſhould be in another room; and, when he leaſt thought of it, he was ſurpriſed to ſee her falling upon her knees before him, and with tears imploring his forgiveneſs. At firſt he ſhowed ſome ſigns of averſion; but he did not long continue inexorable: his wife's intreaties, and the interceſſion of friends, ſoon procured a happy reconciliation, and an obliviion of the paſt. For, in his own words reſpecting Eve,

"—Soon

" —*Soon his heart relented*
Towards her, his life ſo late, and ſole delight,
Now at his feet ſubmiſſive in diſtreſs."

Milton's generous behaviour to his wife's father and and the reſt of her family, whom he took under his protection after the royal party was ruined, which they had warmly eſpouſed, does great honour to his character. He entertained them at his own houſe, till, by his intereſt, their eſtate and effects were reſtored to them by the parliament. In 1646, his wife bore him a daughter, and it appears that they lived very happily together.

About this time, his zeal for the republican party had ſo far recommended him, that a deſign was formed of making him adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army; but the new-modelling the army proved an obſtruction to that advancement. Soon after the march of Fairfax and Cromwell with the whole army through the city, in order to ſuppreſs the inſurrection which Brown and Maſſey were endeavouring to raiſe there againſt the army's proceedings he left his great houſe in Barbican, for a ſmaller in High-Holborn, where he proſecuted his ſtudies till after the king's trial and death; when he publiſhed his "Tenure of Kings and Magiſtrates;" proving that it is lawful, and hath been held ſo through all ages, for any perſons, who have the power, to call to account a tyrant, or wicked king, and, after due conviction, to depoſe and put him to death, if the ordinary magiſtrates have neglected or refuſed to do it. In the ſame year 1649, appeared his "Obſervations on the Articles of Peace between James Earl of Ormond for King Charles I. on the one hand, and the Iriſh Rebels and Papiſts on the other hand; and a Letter ſent by Ormond to Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin; and a repreſentation of the Scotch Preſbytery at Belfaſt in Ireland."

He was now admitted into the ſervice of the commonwealth

monwealth, and was made Latin ſecretary to the council of ſtate, who reſolved neither to write nor receive letters but in the Latin tongue, which was common to all ſtates. He was not only employed as Latin ſecretary, but likewiſe as a political writer; for the famous "Eikon Baſilike, or the Royal Image," ſaid to have been written by Charles I. in vindication of himſelf, appearing ſoon after his death, Milton was requeſted to write an anſwer to it, which he performed under the title of "Eikonoclaſtes, or the Image-breaker." And, in 1651, he publiſhed his "Pro Populo Anglicano Defenſio," for which he was rewarded by the commonwealth with a preſent of a thouſand pounds; and he had alſo a conſiderable hand in correcting and improving a piece written by his nephew, Mr. John Philips, and printed at London, in 1652, under this title, "Joannis Philippi Angli Reſponſio ad Apologiam anonymi cujuſdam Tenebrionis pro Rege & Populo Anglicano infantiſſimam." During the writing and publiſhing of this work, he lodged at one Thompſon's, next door to the Bull-head tavern, at Charing-croſs; but he ſoon removed to a garden-houſe in Petty France, next door to lord Scudamore's, where he remained from the year 1652 till within a few weeks of the Reſtoration. In this houſe, his firſt wife dying in child-bed in 1652, he married a ſecond, Catherine, the daughter of captain Woodcock, of Hackney, who died of a conſumption in three months after ſhe had been brought to bed of a daughter. This ſecond marriage was about two or three years after he had been wholly deprived of his ſight; but by his continual ſtudies, the head-ach, to which he was ſubject from his youth, and his perpetual tampering with phyſic, his eyes had been decayed for twelve years before. In 1654, he publiſhed his "Defenſio Secunda," and the year following, his "Defenſio pro Se."

Being now at eaſe from his ſtate adverſaries, and public controverſies, he had leiſure again to proſecute his

his own ſtudies and private deſigns, particularly his "Hiſtory of England," and his new "Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ," according to the method of Robert Stephens, the manuſcript of which contained three large volumes, folio, and has been made uſe of by the editors of the Cambridge Dictionary, printed in quarto, 1693. In 1658, he publiſhed "Sir Walter Raleigh's Cabinet Council;" and, in 1659, "A Treatiſe of the Civil Power in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and Conſiderations touching the likelieſt Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church; wherein are alſo Diſcourſes of Tithes, Church-fees, Church-revenues, and whether any Maintenance of Miniſters can be ſettled in Law." Lond. 1659, in 12mo.

Upon the diſſolution of the parliament by the army, after Richard Cromwell had been obliged to reſign the protectorſhip, Milton wrote a letter, on which he laid down the model of a commonwealth; not ſuch as he judged the beſt, but what might be the readieſt ſettled at that time, to prevent the reſtoration of kingly government and domeſtic diſorders, till a more favourable ſeaſon, and better diſpoſitions for erecting a perfect democracy. He drew up likewiſe another piece to the ſame purpoſe, which ſeems to have been addreſſed to general Monk; and he publiſhed in February 1659, his "Ready and Eaſy Way to eſtabliſh a free Commonwealth." Soon after this, he publiſhed his "Brief Notes" upon a late ſermon, intitled, "The Fear of God and the King," printed in quarto, Lond. 1660. Theſe notes were as ſpeedily remarked upon by Roger L'Eſtrange, in a piece, intitled, "No blind guides."

Juſt before the Reſtoration he was removed from his office of Latin ſecretary, and concealed himſelf, by the advice of his friends, till the event of public affairs ſhould direct him what courſe to take; for this purpoſe he retired to a friend's houſe in Bartholomew-cloſe, near Weſt Smithfield, till the general amneſty was publiſhed.

A ſtory has been lately propagated, that, when Milton and John Goodwin, after the Reſtoration, were both in danger of proſecution, the friends of Milton made a mock funeral for him, in order to put a ſtop to any proſecution againſt him; but Milton was a man ſo well known, the contrivance was ſo unſuitable to his character, and the ſtory is ſo totally deſtitute of any proper evidence, that it is not intitled to any credit.

The act of oblivion, ſays Mr. Philips, proved as favourable to him as could be hoped or expected, through the interceſſion of ſome who ſtood his friends both in council and in parliament; particularly in the houſe of commons, where Mr. Andrew Marvell, member for Hull, who had prefixed a copy of verſes before his Paradiſe Loſt, exerted himſelf vigorouſly in his behalf, and made a conſiderable party for him; ſo that, together with John Goodwin of Coleman-ſtreet, he was only ſo far excepted as not to bear any office in the commonwealth. But the chief promoter of the pardon was Sir William Davenant, whoſe life Milton had ſaved by his intereſt with the parliament, when he was condemned as an active royaliſt in 1650.

Milton, being ſecured by his pardon, appeared again in public, and removed to Jewin-ſtreet, where he married his third wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. Minſhul of Cheſhire, recommended to him by his friend Dr. Paget, to whom he was related; but he had no children by her. Soon after the Reſtoration, he was offered the place of Latin ſecretary to the king, which, notwithſtanding the importunities of his wife, he refuſed. We are informed, that when his wife preſſed him to comply with the times, and accept the king's offer, he made anſwer, "You are in the right, my dear; you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honeſt man." Soon after his marriage with his third wife, he removed to a houſe in the Artillery-walk, leading to Bunhill-fields, where he continued till his death, except during the plague in

1665

1665, when he retired with his family to St. Giles Chalfont, Buckinghamſhire, at which time his PARADISE LOST was finiſhed, though not publiſhed till 1667.

Mr. Richardſon ſays, "that when Milton dictated, he uſed to ſit leaning backwards obliquely in an eaſy chair, with his legs flung over the elbows of it; that he frequently compoſed lying a-bed in a morning, and that when he could not ſleep, but lay awake whole nights, he tried, but not one verſe could he make; at other times flowed eaſy his unpremeditated verſe, with a certain *Impetus*, as himſelf uſed to believe; then, at what hour ſoever, he rung for his daughter to ſecure what came. I have been alſo told, he would dictate many, perhaps forty lines in a breath, and then reduce them to half the number."

Mr. Philips likewiſe relates a remarkable circumſtance in the compoſure of this ſublime poem, told him by Milton himſelf, "that his poetical vein never flowed happily but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal, and that what he attempted at other times was not to his ſatisfaction." After the work was ready for the preſs, it was near being ſuppreſſed by the ignorance, or malice of the licenſer, who, among other trivial objections, imagined there was treaſon in that noble ſimile, b. i. v. 594.

——————As when the ſun new-riſen
Looks through the horizontal miſty air,
Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon,
In dim eclipſe, diſaſtrous twilight ſheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs.

The ignorance of this licenſer, in objecting to this ſimile, has indeed perpetuated his name, but it is with no advantage; he, no doubt, imagined, that "Perplexes monarchs" was levelled againſt the reigning prince; and it is, perhaps, the higheſt ſimile in our language.

This noble work of genius, which does honour to

human nature, having at length ſurmounted the obſtructions of the licenſer, was permitted to be printed; when he ſold it only for *five* pounds, but was to receive *five* pounds more after the ſale of 1300 of the firſt impreſſion; *five* pounds after the ſale of a like number of the ſecond edition; and *five* after the ſale of the ſame quantity of the third edition. This original contract with Samuel Simmons the printer, which is ſtill in being, is dated 27th April 1667, and ſerves to correct ſome miſtakes we meet with in ſome writers relative to the ſale and earlier editions of this work.

The firſt edition of PARADISE LOST, in ten books was printed in a ſmall quarto, and, before it could be diſpoſed of, had three or more different title-pages of the years 1667, 1668, and 1669. So that two years elapſed before he was intitled to the ſecond *five* pounds, for which his receipt is ſtill in being, dated April 26. 1669. And this was probably all that he received; for he lived not to enjoy the benefits of the ſecond edition, which was not publiſhed till 1674, the year of his death. The ſecond edition was printed in a ſmall octavo, corrected by the author, and increaſed to twelve books, with the addition of ſome few verſes. The third edition was printed in 1678; and it appears that Milton had bequeathed the copy-right to his widow, who agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands; and her receipt for the money is dated December 21. 1680.

Moſt of the writers of Milton's life have reflected on the taſte of the age, becauſe this poem did not meet with that applauſe and ſucceſs it merited at its firſt publication. But if it be conſidered how ſmall the number of readers was at that æra, and how few of theſe could have the judgment to diſcern the beauties of a new ſpecies of poetry, this being the firſt in the Engliſh language of any note not in rhime, the ſucceſs will appear to be very great, eſpecially when it is likewiſe remembered, that the public was ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the

the political principles of the author; and that, though he had eſcaped the talons of the law, he was in perpetual danger of aſſaſſination from the mad rage of ſome of the moſt violent royaliſts. Under theſe circumſtances the ſale of the firſt impreſſion, the number of which we know not, but it muſt have exceeded 1300 in two years, is a ſtrong proof that the merit of the poem was known and felt in its fulleſt extent by every man of learning and taſte in Britain; but that their applauſe was withheld for fear of giving offence to government, the author being obnoxious to the court, then in the zenith of its power, and adulated by almoſt all ranks of the people.

Mr. Richardſon gives the fulleſt account of the firſt public notice taken of this inimitable poem, which was by Sir John Denham's coming into the houſe of commons one morning with a ſheet of Paradiſe Loſt, wet from the preſs, in his hand, and being aſked what he was reading, he anſwered, "Part of the nobleſt poem that ever was written in any language, or in any age." No preciſe date is given to this incident by Mr. Richardſon; but, as Sir John Denham died in 1668, it muſt have happened while the firſt edition was at preſs. However, it has been ſaid, that the book was not known till about two years after, when the earl of Dorſet recommended it, as appears by the following ſtory, related to Mr. Richardſon, by Dr. Tancred Robinſon, an eminent phyſician in London, who was informed by Sir Fleetwood Shephard, "That the earl, in company with that gentleman, looking over ſome books in Little Britain, met with Paradiſe Loſt; and, being ſurpriſed with ſome paſſages in turning it over, bought it. The bookſeller deſired his lordſhip to ſpeak in its favour, ſince he liked it, for the impreſſion lay on his hands as waſte paper." The earl, having read the poem, ſent it to Mr. Dryden, who, in a ſhort time, returned it, with this anſwer: "This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too." But this ſtory is extremely improbable;

bable; and as to what is ſaid of Dryden, who was perſonally known to Milton, he was certainly not unacquainted with the Paradiſe Loſt.

The 4th edition, a very pompous one in folio, with *Paradiſe Regained* and *Sampſon Agoniſtes* annexed, was publiſhed in 1688, through the patronage of John Somers, afterwards the famous lord Somers, who adviſed the bookſeller to undertake it by ſubſcription, and in the liſt of ſubſcribers we find his own, and the moſt reſpectable names of that time, as well for high rank, as eminence in learning. The fifth edition in folio was publiſhed in 1692; and the ſixth in 1695; and the poem was now ſo well received, that the ſale increaſed double the number every year, though the price was four times greater than before. It has gone through numberleſs editions ſince, particularly one in 1727, by Elijah Fenton; and another by Dr. Bentley in 1732. But the moſt elegant edition was publiſhed in 1749, in two volumes quarto, with notes, and the life of the author, by Dr. Thomas Newton, afterwards biſhop of Briſtol. Foreign nations have likewiſe been ſenſible of the great merit of this performance. It was tranſlated into blank-verſe in low Dutch, and publiſhed in 1728; into French proſe in 1729; and into Italian verſe in 1736. There are alſo three Latin verſions, one by Mr. Hog, a Scotſman, publiſhed in 1690; and two others, one by Dr. Trapp, the other by Mr. Dobſon, fellow of New-college, Oxford: the two laſt were undertaken in conſequence of a reward of 1000l. offered by Mr. Benſon, auditor of the impreſt, for the beſt Latin tranſlation, and the prize was adjudged to Mr. Dobſon. "Thus was juſtice at length done to the merits of this illuſtrious bard. Milton, ſays Dr. Newton, is now conſidered as an Engliſh claſſic, and the Paradiſe Loſt generally eſteemed the nobleſt and moſt ſublime of modern poems, and equal at leaſt to the beſt of the ancient; the honour of this country, and the envy and admiration of all others!"

Before we take our leave of PARADISE LOST, it is proper

proper to obſerve, that various criticiſms have been publiſhed upon this celebrated poem; and different conjectures having been ſtated by men of learning, concerning the ſource from which Milton took the firſt idea of the plan, they ought to be noticed, becauſe the candid opinion of theſe gentlemen moſt probably opened the door to an impotent attempt made to blaſt the reputation of Milton, by one Lauder a Scotſman, who in his eſſay on Milton's uſe and imitation of the moderns, printed at London in 1750, charges him not only with ſtealing the plot from a tragedy called *Adamus Exul* written by Grotius, but of culling the flowers of this and other modern poets, and tranſplanting them into his own garden, where he has made them paſs for his own. The charge was refuted by the Rev. Mr. Douglas, now Dr. Douglas, biſhop of Carliſle, in a pamphlet intitled, "Milton vindicated;" and Lauder juſtly incurred both cenſure and contempt. But it is acknowledged, that Milton might have taken the hint of his ſubject from an Italian tragedy called "*Il Paradiſo Perſo*, printed many years before he undertook his poem; and this ſeems the more probable, becauſe it is evident Milton at firſt intended to have written a tragedy on the ſubject, there being extant ſeveral rough ſketches of the tragedy of Paradiſe Loſt, in his own hand-writing. This conjecture, however, coming from ſo reſpectable an authority as the late Dr. Zachary Pearce, biſhop of Rocheſter, encouraged others to throw out ſimilar remarks; and Mr. Peck accordingly ventured his opinion, that the hint was taken from a celebrated Spaniſh romance called "*Gerzinam.*" But if to theſe were added ten thouſand demonſtrations of his having conſulted modern authors for the outlines of his immortal work; the maſterly execution of the poem, being truly original, muſt acquit him, in the opinion of every ſound critic, of every ſpecies of plagiariſm.

The extraordinary merit of Paradiſe Loſt muſt not, however, render us inattentive to the other learned la-

bours of our author: it will therefore be neceſſary to reſume the hiſtory of his life at the year 1670, when he publiſhed at London, in quarto, his "Hiſtory of Britain, that part eſpecially, now called England, from the firſt traditional beginning, continued to the Norman conqueſt, collected out of the ancienteſt and beſt Authors thereof." It is reprinted in the firſt volume of Dr. Kennet's complete Hiſtory of England. Mr. Toland, in his life of Milton, page 43, obſerves, that we have not this hiſtory as it came out of his hands; for the licenſers, thoſe ſworn officers to deſtroy learning, liberty, and good ſenſe, expunged ſeveral paſſages of it, wherein he had expoſed the ſuperſtition, pride, and cunning, of the Popiſh monks in the Saxon times, but applied by the ſagacious licenſers to Charles the Second's biſhops. In 1681, a conſiderable paſſage, which had been ſuppreſſed in the publication of this hiſtory, was printed at London, in quarto, under this title: "Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long Parliament and Aſſembly of Divines in 1651, omitted in his other Works, and never before printed." It is reported, and from the foregoing character it appears probable, that Mr. Milton had lent moſt of his perſonal eſtate upon the public faith, which when he ſomewhat earneſtly preſſed to have reſtored, after long and chargeable attendance, he met with very ſharp rebukes; upon which, at laſt, deſpairing of any ſucceſs in this affair, he was forced to return from them poor and friendleſs, having ſpent all his money, and wearied all thoſe who had eſpouſed his cauſe; and he had not, probably, mended his circumſtances in thoſe days, but by performing ſuch ſervice for them as afterwards he did, for which ſcarcely any thing would appear too great.

In 1671, he publiſhed at London, in octavo, "Paradiſe Regained," a poem in four books, to which is added "Sampſon Agoniſtes." Milton is ſaid to have preferred this poem of "Paradiſe Regained" to "Paradiſe Loſt;" but

but it is a natural and juſt obſervation, that the Meſſiah in "Paradiſe Regained," with all his meekneſs, unaffected dignity, and clear reaſoning, makes not ſo great a figure as when in the "Paradiſe Loſt," he appears clothed in the terrors of almighty vengeance, wielding the thunder of heaven, and riding along the ſky in the chariot of power, drawn, as Milton greatly expreſſes it, "With four Cherubic ſhapes; when he comes dreſt in awful majeſty, and hurls the apoſtate ſpirits headlong into the fiery gulf of bottomleſs perdition, there to dwell in adamantine chains and penal fire, who durſt defy the Omnipotent to arms." Dr. Newton has diſſented from the general opinion, concerning "Paradiſe Regained;" "Certainly (ſays he), it is very worthy of the author, and, contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be ſeen in *Paradiſe Regained*, as well as in *Paradiſe Loſt*; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is inferior in ſentiment; if it is leſs deſcriptive, it is more argumentative; if it does not ſometimes riſe ſo high, neither does it ever ſink ſo low; and it has not met with the approbation it deſerves, only becauſe it has not been more read and conſidered. His ſubject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has raiſed as noble a ſuperſtructure as ſuch little room, and ſuch ſcanty materials would allow. The great beauty of it is, the contraſt between the two characters of the tempter and our Saviour; the artful ſophiſtry, and ſpecious inſinuations of the one, refuted by the ſtrong ſenſe, and manly eloquence of the other."

The firſt thought of Paradiſe Regained was owing to Elwood the Quaker, as he himſelf relates the occaſion, in the hiſtory of his own life. When Milton had lent him the manuſcript of Paradiſe Loſt, at St. Giles Chalfont, and he returned it, Milton aſked him how he liked it, and what he thought of it; "which I modeſtly and freely told him (ſays Elwood); and after ſome further diſcourſe about it, I pleaſantly ſaid to him, 'Thou haſt ſaid much of Paradiſe Loſt, but what haſt thou to ſay

of

of Paradiſe Found?' He made no anſwer, but ſat ſome time in a muſe, then broke off that diſcourſe, and fell upon another ſubject." When Elwood afterwards waited upon him in London, Milton ſhewed him his Paradiſe Regained; and in a pleaſant tone ſaid to him, "This is owing to you, for you put it into my head, by the queſtion you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of."

In the year 1672, he publiſhed his "Artis Logicæ plenior inſtitutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata," London, in octavo. Upon the indulgence granted to Proteſtant diſſenters in 1673, he publiſhed a defence of univerſal toleration for ſectaries of all denominations, except Papiſts, in a diſcourſe, intitled, "Of true Religion, Hereſy, Schiſm, Toleration, and what beſt Means may be uſed againſt the Growth of Popery," London, in quarto. He publiſhed likewiſe, the ſame year, "Poems. &c. on ſeveral occaſions, both Engliſh and Latin, compoſed at ſeveral Times, with a ſmall Tractate on Education, dedicated to Mr. Hartlib," London, in octavo. Early in the year 1674, he publiſhed his Epiſtolarum familiarium, lib. i. and ſome Latin academical Exerciſes, in octavo; and in the ſame year, in quarto, "A Declaration of the Poles concerning the Election of their King John III. tranſlated from the Latin Copy."

Mr. Wood tells us, that Milton was thought to be the author of a piece called "The grand Caſe of Conſcience; concerning the Engagement ſtated and reſolved; or, a ſtrict Survey of the ſolemn League and Covenant in Reference to the preſent Engagement;" but others are of opinion, that the ſtyle and manner of writing do not in the leaſt favour that ſuppoſition. He left ſeveral pieces in manuſcript; among the reſt, his "Brief Hiſtory of Muſcovy, and of other leſs-known Countries lying Eaſtward of Ruſſia as far as Cathay," printed in 1682, in octavo. His Latin ſtate-letters were firſt printed at London in 1676, in 12mo. and tranſlated into

Engliſh,

Engliſh, and printed in 1694. His hiſtorical, poetical, and miſcellaneous works were printed in three volumes folio, in 1698, at London, though Amſterdam is mentioned in the title-page, with the life of the author, by Mr. Toland; but the moſt complete and elegant edition of his proſe works was printed, in two volumes in folio, at London, in 1738, by the Reverend Dr. Birch, late ſecretary to the royal ſociety. In this edition the ſeveral pieces are diſpoſed according to the order in which they were printed, with the addition of a Latin tract, omitted by Mr. Toland, concerning the reaſons of the war with Spain in 1655, and ſeveral pages in the hiſtory of Great Britain, expunged by the licenſers of the preſs, and not to be met with in any former impreſſions.

After a life of indefatigable ſtudy, and of active exertion in the cauſe of religious and civil liberty, for which he contended to the very laſt, this excellent man died, of the gout in his ſtomach. He had languiſhed under this diſorder for ſome years before, and was ſo reduced by that, and other infirmities, as to render his diſſolution ſcarcely perceptible by thoſe who were in the room with him. His death happened in November 1674. His remains were decently interred, near the body of his father, in the chancel of the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate: but, no monument being found there afterwards, a very neat one was erected to his memory in Weſtminſter-abbey in 1737, at the expence of William Benſon, Eſq. one of the auditors of the impreſt.

By his firſt wife he had four children, a ſon and three daughters. The daughters ſurvived the father. Anne, the eldeſt, married a maſter-builder, and died in childbed of her firſt child, which died with her; Mary lived and died ſingle; Deborah left her father when ſhe was young, and went over to Ireland with a lady, and came to England again during the troubles of Ireland under king James II. She married Mr. Abraham Clark, a weaver

weaver in Spittal-fields; and died in 1727, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of her age.

Dr. John Ward, fellow of the royal-ſociety, and profeſſor of Rhetoric in Greſham-college, London, ſaw the above Mrs. Clark, Milton's daughter, at the houſe of one of her relations, not long before her death; "when ſhe informed me (ſays that gentleman), that ſhe and her ſiſters uſed to read to their father in eight languages; which, by practice, they were capable of doing with great readineſs and accuracy, though they underſtood no language but Engliſh; and their father uſed often to ſay, in their hearing, one tongue was enough for a woman.

"None of them (proceeds Dr. Ward) were ever ſent to ſchool, but were all taught Engliſh at home by a miſtreſs kept for that purpoſe. And Milton himſelf learnt them to pronounce Greek and Latin. Homer, and Ovid's Metamorphoſes, were books which they were often called to read to their father; and, at my deſire, ſhe repeated a great number of verſes from the beginning of both theſe poets with great readineſs. I knew who ſhe was upon the firſt ſight of her, by the ſimilitude of her countenance with her father's picture; and upon my telling her ſo, ſhe informed me, that Mr. Addiſon told her the ſame thing, on her going to wait on him; for he, on hearing ſhe was living, ſent for her, and deſired, if ſhe had any papers of her father's, ſhe would bring them with her, as an evidence of her being Milton's daughter; but immediately on her being introduced to him, he ſaid, 'Madam, you need no other voucher; your face is a ſufficient teſtimonial whoſe daughter you are:' and he then made her a handſome preſent of a purſe of guineas, with a promiſe of procuring her an annual proviſion for life: but he dying ſoon after, ſhe loſt the benefit of his generous deſign. She appeared to be a woman of good ſenſe and genteel behaviour, and to bear the inconveniences of a low fortune with decency and prudence."

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Her late majeſty, queen Caroline, ſent her fifty pounds, and ſhe received preſents of money from ſeveral gentlemen not long before her death.

She had ten children, viz. ſeven ſons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except one of her ſons named Caleb; and the youngeſt daughter, whoſe name was Elizabeth. Caleb went over to Fort St. George, in the Eaſt Indies, where he married and had two ſons, Abraham and Iſaac. Of thoſe, Abraham, the elder, came to England with governor Harriſon, but returned again upon advice of his father's death; and whether he or his brother be now living is uncertain. Elizabeth, the youngeſt child of Deborah, married Mr. Thomas Foſter, a weaver; and ſuch is the caprice of fortune, that this grand-daughter of the illuſtrious Milton, for ſome years before her huſband's death, kept a little chandler's or grocer's ſhop at the lower end of Holloway, and afterwards in Cock-lane Shoreditch, where ſhe was found by Dr. Birch, and afterwards viſited by Dr. Newton; and in 1750 the Maſque of Comus was performed at Drury-lane, and produced her a great benefit. A pathetic prologue was written on the occaſion by Dr. Johnſon, and ſpoken by Mr. Garrick. She had ſeven children, three ſons and four daughters, who all died before the mother.

Milton had a brother, Mr. Chriſtopher Milton, who was knighted, and made one of the barons of the Exchequer, in the reign of king James II. but he does not appear to have been a man of any abilities; at leaſt, if he had any, they are loſt to poſterity in the luſtre of his brother's.

There was lately alive a grand-daughter of this Chriſtopher Milton, who was married to one Mr. George Lookup, advocate at Edinburgh, remarkable for his knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. This lady, ſays Theophilus Cibber, whom I have often ſeen, is extremely corpulent, has in her youth been very handſome, and is not deſtitute of poetical genius. She has written ſeveral

ral copies of verſes, publiſhed in the Edinburgh Magazines; and her face bears ſome reſemblance to the picture of Milton.

Mr. Fenton has given us the following deſcription of Milton's perſon.

"He was of a moderate ſize, well proportioned, and of a ruddy complexion, light-brown hair, and had handſome features; yet his eyes were none of the quickeſt. When he was a ſtudent at Cambridge, he was ſo fair and clear, that many called him The Lady of Chriſt's College. His deportment was affable, and his gait erect and manly, beſpeaking courage and undauntedneſs.—While he had his ſight, he wore a ſword, and was well ſkilled in uſing it. He had a delicate, tunable voice, an excellent ear, could play on the organ, and bear a part in vocal and inſtrumental muſic."

Milton's character as a poet appears to the beſt advantage in the following lines, written by Dryden under his picture:

Three poets, in three diſtant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England, did adorn.
The firſt, in loftineſs of thought ſurpaſs'd;
The next, in majeſty; in both, the laſt:
The force of Nature could no further go;
To make a third, ſhe join'd the former two.

As to his political principles he was a thorough republican: and in this he thought like a Greek or a Roman, as he was very converſant with their writings: and one day, Sir Robert Howard, who was a friend of Milton's, aſked him how he came to ſide with the republicans? Milton anſwered, among other things, "becauſe theirs was the moſt frugal government; for the trappings of a monarchy might ſet up an ordinary commonwealth."

This is not the only inſtance by which it appears that he was as free in his converſation as in his writings; and that he was no time-ſerver or reſpecter of perſons, when

when he knew himſelf to be in the right. A remarkable ſtory is told of him, which confirms this obſervation.

The duke of York, afterwards James II. took it in his head to pay him a viſit out of curioſity. In the courſe of their converſation, the duke aſked Milton, Whether he did not think the loſe of his ſight was a judgment upon him for what he had written againſt the late king his father? Milton's reply was to this effect: "If your highneſs thinks that the calamities which befal us here are indications of the wrath of heaven, in what manner are we to account for the fate of the king your father? The diſpleaſure of heaven muſt, upon this ſuppoſition, have been much greater againſt him, than againſt me: for I have only loſt my eyes, but he loſt his head." The duke was exceedingly nettled at this anſwer, and went away very angry.

As to Milton's religion, he was a diſſenter from the church of England, but in the latter part of his life he was not a profeſſed member of any particular ſect of Chriſtians: he then frequented no public worſhip, and is ſaid not to have uſed any religious rites in his family. He was an enemy to all kinds of ſuperſtitious ceremony, and thought that all Chriſtians had in ſome things corrupted the ſimplicity and purity of the goſpel. He believed that inward religion was the beſt, and that public communion had frequently more ſhew in it than any tendency to promote genuine piety and unaffected goodneſs. The circumſtances of our author were never very mean nor very affluent; he lived above want, and was content with competency. His father ſupported him during his travels. When he was appointed Latin ſecretary, his ſalary amounted to two hundred pounds per annum; and, though he was of the victorious party, yet he was far from ſharing the ſpoils of his country. On the contrary, as we learn from his Second Defence, he ſuſtained great loſſes during the civil war, and was not at all favoured in the impoſition of taxes, but ſometimes, paid beyond his due proportion: and upon

the turn of affairs, he was not only deprived of his place, but alſo loſt two thouſand pounds, which he had for ſecurity put into the Exciſe-office.

Some time before he died, he ſold the greateſt part of his library, as his heirs were not qualified to make a proper uſe of it, and as he thought he could diſpoſe of it to greater advantage than they could after his death.

"He died (ſays Dr. Newton), by one means or other, worth one thouſand five hundred pounds, beſides his houſehold-goods, which was no incompetent ſubſiſtence for him, who was as great a philoſopher as a poet."

Milton ſeems not to have been very happy in his marriages. His firſt wife offended him by her elopement: the ſecond, whoſe love, ſweetneſs, and delicacy he celebrates, lived not a twelvemonth with him: and his third, by whom he had no iſſue, was ſaid to be a woman of a moſt violent ſpirit, and a ſevere ſtep-mother to his children. "She died (ſays Dr. Newton), very old at Nantwich, in Cheſhire; and, from the accounts of thoſe who had ſeen her, I have learned that ſhe confirmed ſeveral things related before; and, particularly, that her huſband uſed to compoſe his poetry chiefly in the winter: and, on his waking on a morning, would make her write down twenty or thirty verſes. Being aſked, Whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, ſhe underſtood it as an imputation upon him for ſtealing from theſe authors; and anſwered, with eagerneſs, that he ſtole from nobody but the muſe that inſpired him: and being aſked by a lady preſent, Who the muſe was; ſhe anſwered, 'It was God's grace, and the holy ſpirit, that viſited him nightly.' She was likewiſe aſked, Whom he approved moſt of our Engliſh poets; and anſwered, 'Spenſer, Shakeſpeare, and Cowley:' and being aſked, What he thought of Dryden; ſhe ſaid, 'Dryden uſed ſometimes to viſit him; but he thought him no poet, but a good rhymiſt.' But the reader will be pleaſed to obſerve, that this cenſure of Milton's was before Dryden had acquired much reputation as a poet,

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or had compoſed thoſe immortal works of genius which afterwards raiſed eternal monuments to him, and carried his name to every country where poetry and taſte are known. She likewiſe uſed to ſay, that her huſband was applied to by meſſage from the king, and invited to write for the court; but his anſwer was, that ſuch a behaviour would be very inconſiſtent with his former conduct, for he had never yet employed his pen againſt his conſcience.

It would be an injuſtice to this great man to omit any part of his character. We ſhall therefore juſt mention, that he was as eminent for his immenſe learning and erudition as for his extraordinary natural genius. He was a maſter not only of the Greek and Latin, but of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac languages. Likewiſe of the principal modern tongues, eſpecially the Italian, which he wrote ſo elegantly, that many members of the academy *Della Cruſca*, eſtabliſhed at Florence for the refining and perfecting the Italian language, highly commended his ſtyle.

In fine, he was an honeſt and a good, as well as a great man, being in his private life an example of ſobriety, temperance, frugality, and patience; and, in his public capacity, a model of perſeverance to the dictates of conſcience, from which he could not be ſwerved by hopes or fears, by the dread of puniſhments, or the temptation of rewards.

Dr. Johnſon, in his biographical prefaces to the works of the Engliſh poets, has done great injuſtice to the perſonal and private character of Milton; but he has ſpoken in the higheſt terms of his Paradiſe Loſt, and of his genius as a writer. 'The Paradiſe Loſt (he 'ſays), is a poem which, conſidered with reſpect to de'ſign, may claim the firſt place, and with reſpect to 'performance the ſecond, among the productions of 'the human mind. The ſubject of an epic poem is natu'rally an event of great importance. That of Milton 'is not the deſtruction of a city, the conduct of a colo'ny, or the foundation of an empire. His ſubject is the

'fate of worlds, the revolutions of heaven and earth; 'rebellion againſt the Supreme King, raiſed by the 'higheſt order of created beings; the overthrow of 'their hoſt, and the puniſhment of their crimes; the 'creation of a new race of reaſonable creatures; their 'original happineſs and innocence, their forfeiture of 'immortality, and their reſtoration to hope and peace. 'Great events can be haſtened or retarded only by per-'ſons of elevated dignity. Before the greatneſs diſ-'played in Milton's Poem, all other greatneſs ſhrinks 'away. The weakeſt of his agents are the higheſt and 'nobleſt of human beings, the original parents of man-'kind; with whoſe actions the elements conſented; on 'whoſe rectitude, or deviation of will, depended the 'fate of terreſtrial nature, and the condition of all the 'future inhabitants of the globe.

'Of the other agents in the poem, the chief are ſuch 'as it is irreverence to name on ſlight occaſions. The 'reſt were lower powers—

——'*Of which the leaſt could wield*
'*Thoſe elements, and arm him with the force*
'*Of all their regions*—

'powers, which only the controul of Omnipotence re-'ſtrains from laying creation waſte, and filling the 'vaſte expanſe of ſpace with ruin and confuſion. To 'diſplay the motives and actions of beings thus ſuperior, 'ſo far as human reaſon can examine them, or human 'imagination repreſent them, is the taſk which this 'mighty poet has undertaken and performed.

'The thoughts, which are occaſionally called forth in 'the progreſs of his poem, are ſuch as could only be 'produced by an imagination in the higheſt degree 'fervid and active, to which materials were ſupplied 'by inceſſant ſtudy and unlimited curioſity. The heat 'of Milton's mind might be ſaid to ſublimate his learn-'ing, to throw off into his work the ſpirit of ſcience, 'unmingled with its groſſer parts. He has conſidered 'creation in its whole extent, and his deſcriptions are

'therefore

'therefore learned. He had accuſtomed his imagination to unreſtrained indulgence, and his conceptions therefore were extenſive. The characteriſtic quality of his poem is ſublimity. He ſometimes deſcends to the elegant, but his element is the great. He can occaſionally inveſt himſelf with grace; but his natural port is gigantic loftineſs. He can pleaſe when pleaſure is required; but it is his peculiar power to aſtoniſh. He ſeems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know what it was that nature had beſtowed upon him more bountifully than upon others; the power of diſplaying the vaſt, illuminating the ſplendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful: he therefore choſe a ſubject on which too much could not be ſaid, on which he might tire his fancy, without the cenſure of extravagance.

'The higheſt praiſe of genius is original invention. Milton cannot be ſaid to have contrived the ſtructure of an epic poem, and muſt therefore yield to that vigour and amplitude of mind to which all generations muſt be indebted for the art of poetical narration, for the texture of the fable, the variation of incidents, the interpoſition of dialogue, and all the ſtratagems that ſurpriſe and enchain attention. But, of all the borrowers from Homer, Milton is, perhaps, the leaſt indebted. He was naturally a thinker for himſelf, confident of his own abilities, and diſdainful of help or hindrance; he did not refuſe admiſſion to the thoughts or images of his predeceſſors, but he did not ſeek them. From his contemporaries he neither courted nor received ſupport; there is, in his writings, nothing by which the pride of other authors might be gratified, or favour gained; no exchange of praiſe, nor ſolicitation of ſupport. His great works were performed under diſcountenance, and in blindneſs; but difficulties vaniſhed at his touch; he was born for whatever is arduous; and his work is not the greateſt of herioc poems only becauſe it is not the firſt.'

*** *Authorities.* Wood's Faſti Oxon. Toland's Life of Milton, 1699 and 1761. Ellwood's Life, edit. 1714. Fenton's Life of Milton, prefixed to his works, 1727. Richardſon's Life of Milton. Dr. Birch's, 1738. Peck's Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Milton, 4to. 1740. Dr. Newton's, 1749 and 1764. Dr. Johnſon's Lives of the Poets.

THE LIFE OF

SAMUEL BUTLER.

[A. D. 1612, to 1680.]

THIS admired poet, though an inferior genius, forms a ſtriking contraſt to Milton; they differed not more in their poetic vein, than in their political ſentiments. Milton was a ſublime, Butler a ſatiric poet: the former was a zealous republican, the latter a ſtaunch royaliſt.

Butler was the ſon of a ſubſtantial farmer, who lived at Strenſham in Worceſterſhire, where he was born in the year 1612. He received a grammar education at the free-ſchool of Worceſter; and Mr. Henry Bright, the maſter, having informed his father that he diſcovered in him an acute genius, and a ready diſpoſition for learning, he reſolved to encourage it, and to bring him up to the profeſſion of the law. In this view, he ſent him to Cambridge to purſue his ſtudies; but though he reſided there ſix or ſeven years, he was never matriculated; owing, as it was ſaid, to his father's narrow circumſtances, which would not permit him to go through the regular gradations of degrees, and to ſupport the other incidental expences of univerſity ſtudents. We are therefore to ſuppoſe that he only attended the public lectures in the univerſity, which at that time were more numerous, more diligently read and attended to, and more in repute, than at preſent. The accounts of this part of his life, however, are very defective; and

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we are only told, that when he quitted Cambridge, he became clerk to Mr. Jefferys of Earl's Croom, an eminent juſtice of the peace for the county of Worceſter, a ſtation in thoſe days in good eſteem. With this gentleman he lived ſome years in a comfortable manner, having leiſure ſufficient to apply himſelf to thoſe ſtudies and amuſements for which he conceived the ſtrongeſt inclination, which were hiſtory, poetry, muſic, and painting. He afterwards obtained the patronage of Elizabeth counteſs of Kent, a lady of great learning, and the protectreſs of men of letters. In the houſe of this lady he found an excellent library, and he likewiſe formed an acquaintance with ſeveral eminent men who frequently viſited the counteſs: among others, he became intimate with the learned Selden, who often employed him in literary buſineſs.

Mr. Butler's next reſidence was with Sir Samuel Luke, a gentleman of an ancient family in Bedfordſhire, and one of Oliver Cromwell's generals. In this ſituation it is generally believed that he planned, if he did not write, the famous poem of HUDIBRAS; under which character it is ſuppoſed he intended to ridicule Sir Samuel. Hiſtory is ſilent with reſpect to our poet, from the time of his living with Sir Samuel Luke, which we find was after Oliver Cromwell had the command of the army, till ſome years after the Reſtoration, when he was made ſecretary to Richard, earl of Carbury, lord-preſident of Wales, who appointed him to be ſteward of Ludlow-caſtle, when the lord-preſident's court was revived there; and about this time he married Mrs. Hubert, a widow lady of a very good family; but we have no dates to the few incidents of his life left on record, and muſt therefore be guided in point of time by other circumſtances. The firſt part of Hudibras was publiſhed in 1663, in octavo; afterwards came out the ſecond part, and both were printed together, with ſeveral additions and annotations. Theſe, we are to ſuppoſe, firſt procured him the notice of the courtiers, and

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the patronage of the earl of Dorſet, who introduced his poem at court, where it was ſo acceptable, that it became a matter of entertainment to the king, who often pleaſantly quoted it in converſation. His ſlender, though honourable appointment under the lord-preſident of Wales, probably took place much about the ſame period, and with this income, and his wife's jointure from her former huſband, it is moſt likely he ſupported himſelf while he danced attendance on the court in hopes of preferment or ſome ſuitable reward "for the great ſervice it was ſaid he had done to the royal family, by writing his inimitable Hudibras."

Major Richardſon Pack, in his life of Wycherly, a brother poet, then in high favour at court, relates, that Wycherly took all opportunities to recommend Butler to the duke of Buckingham, and even went ſo far as to tell him, it was a reproach to the court, that a perſon of his loyalty and wit ſhould ſuffer in obſcurity, and under the wants he did; upon which the duke undertook to recommend him to his majeſty; and Wycherly, to forward the buſineſs, requeſted the duke to name a day when he might introduce Butler to his grace. The duke accordingly fixed the time and the place, and the two poets attended the duke at the Roebuck, a noted tavern; but, unfortunately, ſoon after they were met, the door of the room where they ſat being open, and his grace ſitting near it, he ſaw a rake, a knight of his acquaintance, paſs by, with two looſe women, whom he inſtantly purſued, and did not return to his company, nor from that hour did he take the leaſt notice of his promiſes in favour of Butler. It is aſſerted likewiſe, that lord Clarendon, before his diſmiſſion from employment, had promiſed Mr. Butler a good place, and had forfeited his word. However this be, it is certain, that he reaped no other benefit from the king's continual admiration of his poem, but a preſent of an order upon the treaſury for three hundred pounds, which, by the intereſt of his friend Mr. Longueville, with the lord-

treaſurer,

treaſurer Danby, paſſed through all the offices without any deduction for fees; but when Mr. Longueville brought it to Butler, he recollected that he owed more than that ſum, and therefore he requeſted his friend to pay it away in diſcharge of his debts. Some aſſert, that the king drew the order for three thouſand pounds, but being in figures, a cypher was cut of in the treaſury, or in ſome of the offices through which it paſſed; but this does not ſeem probable: for Butler, if this had been the caſe, would hardly have been ſo perſonally ſevere upon the king for his neglect of him, as we find him in the following lines of his poem, intitled, "HUDIBRAS at Court."

Now you muſt know, Sir Hudibras
With ſuch perfections gifted was
And ſo peculiar in his manner,
That all that ſaw him did him honour;
Among the reſt, this prince was one,
Admired his converſation.
This prince, whoſe ready wit and parts
Conquer'd both men's and women's hearts,
Was ſo o'ercome by knight and Ralph
That he could never claw it off.
He never eat, nor drank, nor ſlept,
But Hudibras ſtill near him kept;
Never would go to church, or ſo,
But Hudibras muſt with him go:
Nor yet to viſit concubine,
Or at a city feaſt to dine,
But Hudibras muſt ſtill be there,
Or all the fat was in the fire.
Now, after all, was it not hard
That he ſhould meet with no reward,
That fitted out this knight and 'ſquire
This monarch did ſo much admire?
That he ſhould never reimburſe
The man for th'equipage, or horſe,

Is ſure a ſtrange ungrateful thing
In any body but a king.

We have but few more particulars of his life; for he mixed very little with the world, being a very modeſt man, who ſtudiouſly avoided multiplicity of acquaintance. Even the earl of Dorſet, one of his beſt friends, was obliged to make uſe of a ſtratagem to get acquainted with him, as he was peculiarly ſhy to his ſuperiors. His lordſhip prevailed on Mr. Fleetwood Shephard to introduce him into his company at a tavern, where Butler and he uſed frequently to ſpend their evenings together, in the character of a common friend. This being done, Mr. Butler, who did not ſhine to advantage in converſation till he had drank pretty freely, appeared very flat and heavy while the firſt bottle went round; but in the courſe of drinking the ſecond he became very ſprightly, full of wit and learning, and a moſt pleaſant, agreeable companion; but before the third was finiſhed he ſunk again into ſuch ſtupidity and dullneſs, that hardly any body could have believed him to be the author of HUDIBRAS. Next morning, Mr. Shephard aſked his lordſhip's opinion of Mr. Butler, who anſwered, "He is like a nine-pin, little at both ends, but great in the middle."

Our poet, during the latter part of his life, reſided in Roſe-ſtreet, Covent-garden, where, it is ſuppoſed, he ended his days. His death happened in 1680, and his conſtant friend, Mr. Longueville, made application to many of thoſe great and wealthy perſons, who had admired him, while living, to contribute to the expence of burying him in Weſtminſter-abbey; but they who had courted his company, without promoting his intereſt, in life, now refuſed this laſt honour to his remains; and therefore he was interred very decently, but privately, in Covent-garden church-yard, at the ſole expence of Mr. Longueville. From this and other circumſtances it came to be reported, that he was reduced

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to great poverty, and died very much in debt. But Mr. Charles Longueville, the ſon of the above mentioned gentleman, ſo lately as the year 1735, publicly contradicted theſe aſſertions, which had been taken up by ſome biographers.

The third and laſt part of Hudibras was publiſhed ſome time after the firſt and ſecond parts; and a complete edition of the whole was printed under the author's inſpection in 1678, two years before his death. It has ſince received the higheſt commendations from foreigners as well as from his own countrymen. Among the firſt, Voltaire has done it the greateſt honour. This great genius thus expreſſes himſelf concerning it.—"There is an Engliſh poem, the title of which is HUDIBRAS; it is *Don Quixote*, and our *Satire Menippi* blended together. I never met with ſo much wit in one ſingle book as in this; and at the ſame time it is the moſt difficult to tranſlate. Who would believe, that a work which paints in ſuch lively and natural colours the ſeveral foibles of mankind, and where we meet with more ſentiments than words, ſhould baffle the endeavours of the ableſt tranſlators? But the reaſon of it is this; almoſt every part of it alludes to particular incidents." Hudibras has gone through many editions, but the laſt, and the moſt eſteemed, was publiſhed by Zachary Grey, LL. D. with large annotations, and a preface, containing ſome memoirs of the author, Lond. 1744, 2 vol. 8vo. This edition has been ſince reprinted. In 1759, were publiſhed, "The genuine Remains in Verſe and Proſe, of Mr. Samuel Butler, printed from original Manuſcripts, formerly in the Poſſeſſion of William Longueville, Eſq. with Notes, by Mr. R. Thyer, Keeper of the Public Library at Mancheſter," 2 vol. 8vo. The firſt of theſe volumes conſiſts chiefly of poetical pieces; the ſecond, moſtly of characters, drawn with great ſtrength, to which are annexed ingenious thoughts on a variety of ſubjects. In juſtice to our author, we muſt not omit to make mention of an old edition of his poſthumous

humous works, firſt printed in three, and afterwards in one volume duodecimo, in which are many indecent and immoral pieces; and that Mr. Charles Longueville declared many of the pieces in this collection were ſpurious: we ſhould therefore recommend it to the reader, to pay little regard to that edition.

*** *Authorities.* Gen. Biog. Dictionary. Grey's Memoirs of Butler. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. 2. Britiſh Biography, vol. 5. 8vo. 1769.

THE LIFE OF

EDMUND WALLER.

[A. D. 1605, to 1687.]

EDMUND WALLER was ſon to Robert Waller, Eſq. of Agmondeſham in Buckinghamſhire, by Anne, ſiſter to the celebrated Mr. Hampden. He was born in the year 1605, at Coles-hill; which, though in the pariſh of Agmondeſham, ſtands in Hertfordſhire. He loſt his father when he was very young, ſo that the care of his education devolved upon his mother: he had, however, the advantage of being left in very plentiful circumſtances. The writer of Mr. Waller's life, prefixed to his works, ſays, "His father had the reputation of a wiſe man, and his economy was one of the diſtinguiſhing marks of his prudence. For though the family of Waller in Buckinghamſhire was but a younger branch of the Wallers in Kent, yet this gentleman, at his death, left his ſon an eſtate of 3500l. a-year; a fortune at that time fit for a nobleman. And, indeed, the antiquity of this family, and the ſervices they have rendered their country, deſervedly place it among the moſt honourable in England." The ſame writer informs us, that our poet was ſent to Eton-ſchool; but

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Mr. Wood tells us, that he was moſtly trained in grammar-learning under Mr. Dobſon, miniſter of Great Wycombe in Bucks. He was afterwards ſent to King's College in Cambridge; but his ſtay there could not be very long; for, before he was eighteen years of age, he was choſen into the third parliament of king James I. and ſerved as burgeſs for Agmondeſham.

Mr. Waller began to exerciſe his poetical talents ſo early as the year 1623, as appears from a copy of verſes, in his works, upon the danger his majeſty (being prince) eſcaped in the road of St. Andero; for there prince Charles had like to have been caſt away, in returning from Spain that year. It has, however, been obſerved, that it was not Waller's wit, or his poetry, that occaſioned him to be firſt publicly known; but it was his carrying the daughter and ſole heireſs of a rich citizen againſt a rival, whoſe intereſt was eſpouſed by the court.

It is not known at what time he married his firſt lady; but he was a widower before he was five-and-twenty, when he became enamoured of the lady Dorothy Sydney, daughter to the earl of Leiceſter, and afterwards wife to the earl of Sunderland, whom he has immortalized under the name of Sachariſſa. But this lady did not favour Mr. Waller's paſſion, though he paid court to her in ſuch ſtrains,

"*As mov'd all hearts but her's he wiſhed to move.*"

Our poet's attachment to this lady, however ſtrong, did not prevent him from paying his compliments to another, whom he celebrates in his poems under the name of Amoret, by which he is ſaid to have meant the lady Sophia Murray.

It was after his firſt marriage, that Mr. Waller began to be known at court, and from that time he was careſſed by all the people of quality who had any reliſh for wit and polite literature; and was one of the famous club, of which the lord Falkland, Mr. Chilling-

worth, and other eminent men, were members. At one of their meetings, they heard a noiſe in the ſtreet, and being told a ſon of Ben Johnſon's was arreſted, they ſent for him; and he proved to be Mr. George Morley, afterwards biſhop of Wincheſter. Mr. Waller liked him ſo well, that he paid the debt, which was about 100l. on condition that he would live with him at Beconſfield. Mr. Morley did ſo eight or ten years; and was very uſeful to Mr. Waller in improving his taſte, and aſſiſting his ſtudies.

Our author was returned burgeſs for Agmondeſham, in the parliament which aſſembled in April 1640, in which he cenſured the arbitrary meaſures of the court, in a very free and ſpirited manner. He alſo engaged in the oppoſition to the court in the Long Parliament, which met in November following; and was choſen to impeach judge Crawley, for his extrajudicial opinion in the affair of ſhip-money; which he did in a very nervous and eloquent ſpeech, on the 6th of July 1641. This ſpeech was ſo greatly applauded by the public, that twenty thouſand of them were ſold in one day.

At the latter end of 1642, he was one of the commiſſioners appointed by parliament to preſent their propoſitions of peace to the king at Oxford. But, notwithſtanding this, he ſoon after engaged in a plot againſt the parliament, and in favour of the king: and it is ſuppoſed, by moſt writers, that he did this becauſe he thought the parliament acted too violently againſt the king. Whatever his motives might be, he entered into a combination with Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and one Challoner, Tomkins's friend, to form a party ſtrong enough to oppoſe the means neceſſary to carry on the war againſt the king. The earl of Northumberland, lord Conway, and other noblemen, had ſo far encouraged the ſcheme, as to expreſs deſires that expedients might be found to limit the authority exerciſed by the commons.

This deſign had been ſo highly improved on by the royal

royal council, that it aroſe to the taking into the cuſtody of the party the king's children; the ſecuring the principal leaders of the two houſes, viz. the lords Say and Wharton, Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Strode, with the lord-mayor, and committee of the militia; to ſeize upon the outworks, forts, magazines, gates, and other places of importance in the city and Tower; and to let in the kings forces, three thouſand of which were to advance from Oxford, ſo ſoon as intelligence was received there that the matter was come to a proper ripeneſs. Whilſt this affair was in agitation, and liſts were forming of ſuch as were conceived to be well-affected to the deſign, a ſervant of Tomkins, who had overheard their diſcourſe, immediately carried the intelligence to Mr. Pym: upon which, Waller, Tomkins, and Challoner, were taken into cuſtody.

Mr Waller's courage now began to fail him; ſo that, in hopes of ſaving his life, he readily confeſſed every circumſtance of the plot, without concealing a tittle of any diſcourſe he had ever had with the others who were engaged in the conſpiracy. He alſo acted with the greateſt art and diſſimulation, counterfeiting ſuch remorſe of conſcience, that his trial was put off, out of mere Chriſtian compaſſion, till he might recover the uſe of his underſtanding. He invited viſits from the ruling clergy, received their exhortations with reverence and humility, made them preſents, and pretended to gain, from their inſtructions, a degree of religious light and knowledge which he had never before attained. In the mean time, his aſſociates, Tomkins and Challoner, were tried by a court-martial, and put to death. Writers of the greateſt note differ in their account of ſome material circumſtances relative to Mr. Waller. According to lord Clarendon, his ſpeech before the houſe of commons ſo far prevailed with them, that he was not tried by a council of war, which was the means of ſaving his life: whereas, according to Whitlocke, and

others, he was tried by a council of war, but obtained a reprieve from general Eſſex, and was afterwards pardoned. However, it is certain that Mr. Waller was heard before the houſe of commons, where he made a moſt eloquent and pathetic ſpeech, in which he acknowledged his offence with much appearance of penitence; but, at the ſame time, ſtrongly urged the danger which the parliament would incur, by ſubjecting their members to be tried at any other tribunal than their own; and he was afterwards permitted to compound for his tranſgreſſion, being ſuffered to leave the kingdom, after a year's impriſonment, on paying a fine of ten thouſand pounds.

Mr. Waller now retired into France, where he lived at Paris in a very hoſpitable and elegant manner: and it is ſaid, that, except the lord St. Alban's, who was the queen of England's prime miniſter, when ſhe kept her court there, there was no Engliſh table but Mr. Waller's, which was ſo coſtly to him, that it brought his finances ſomewhat low. He had now married a ſecond wife, named Mary, of the family of Breſſe, or Breaux. During his ſtay in France he reſided ſome time at Rouen, where his daughter Margaret was born. He was particularly fond of this daughter, and ſhe uſed to ſerve him as his amanuenſis. About this time, he publiſhed the firſt edition of his poems. When Cromwell had aſſumed the protectorſhip, Mr. Waller, who was related to him, made application to him by his friends, for leave to return home, and which he accordingly obtained. On his return home, he was well received by the protector, who often converſed with him very freely; and Mr. Waller uſed to declare, that Oliver was well read in Greek and Roman hiſtory. In 1654, he addreſſed a fine panegyric to the protector; Mr. Waller alſo paid a fine compliment to the protector's memory, in a poem which he wrote on his death, in 1658. However, on the reſtoration of king Charles II. our poet's courtly muſe produced a poem, which he addreſs-

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ed to that monarch, upon his majeſty's happy return. It is ſaid, that when he preſented this poem to the king, his majeſty told him, that he thought it much inferior to his panegyric on Cromwell. "Sir (replied Mr. Waller), we poets never ſucceed ſo well in writing truth, as in fiction."

He was always much careſſed and reſpected in the court of king Charles II. and conſidered as one of the reigning wits there. That prince uſed him with great civility, and in his diverſions at the duke of Buckingham's, and other places, generally made Mr. Waller one of the party, excuſing to the company his not being able to drink; upon which Mr. Savile uſed to ſay, "No man in England ſhould keep him company without drinking, but Ned Waller." Our author obtained from king Charles a grant of the provoſtſhip of Eton-college; but this grant proved of no effect, it being repreſented to his majeſty, that, by the ſtatutes of that college, laymen were excluded from the provoſtſhip.

Mr. Waller ſat in ſeveral parliaments after the Reſtoration: in 1661, he was member for Haſtings in Suſſex; and, in 1678, for Chipping Wycombe, in Buckinghamſhire. He was member for Saltaſh, in Cornwall, in the parliament aſſembled in 1685, in the reign of James II. He was now very old, but his wit and abilities ſtill made him the object of admiration. "Waller (ſays Burnet), was the delight of the houſe; and, even at eighty, he ſaid the livelieſt things of any among them." His faculties being thus vigorous to the end of his life, together with its natural vivacity, made his company agreeable to the laſt. King James II. having once ordered the earl of Sunderland to bring Mr. Waller to him in the afternoon; when he came, the king carried him into his cloſet, and there aſked him, how he liked ſuch a picture. "Sir (ſays Mr. Waller), my eyes are dim, and I know not whoſe it is." The king anſwered, "It is the princeſs of Orange." "And (ſays Mr. Waller) ſhe is like the greateſt woman in the

world." Whom do you call ſo?" aſked the king. "Queen Elizabeth," ſaid he. "I wonder, Mr. Waller (replied the king), you ſhould think ſo; but, I muſt confeſs, ſhe had a wiſe council." "Sir (ſaid Mr. Waller), did you ever know a fool chuſe a wiſe one?" Some time after this, as we are told by the writer of his life, prefixed to his works, it being known that Mr. Waller intended to marry his daughter to Dr. Birch, the king was prevailed with to endeavour to hinder it; and, with this view, directed a French gentleman of quality to tell him, that "the king wondered he ſhould have any thoughts of marrying his daughter to a falling church." Mr. Waller made anſwer, "Sir, the king does me very great honour to take any notice of my domeſtic affairs; but I have lived long enough to obſerve, that this falling church has got a trick of riſing again."

Some time before his death, he purchaſed a ſmall eſtate, with a little houſe upon it, at Coleſhill, his birth-place, to which he frequently retired, but did not ſtay long. Being once carried to dine there, he ſaid, "he ſhould be glad to die like the ſtag, where he was rouſed." But in this his wiſh was not gratified. He was at Beconsfield, when finding his legs begin to ſwell, he took his ſon-in-law, Dr. Birch, with him to Sir Charles Scarborough, then at Windſor, in attendance as firſt phyſician to king James II. He told him, that he came to him as an old friend, as well as phyſician, to aſk him what that ſwelling meant. Sir Charles ſaid plainly, "Why, Sir, your blood will run no longer." Upon which Mr. Waller repeated ſome lines out of Virgil, ſuitable to the occaſion, on the condition of human life, and received his ſentence very compoſedly. The dropſical ſymptom increaſing, he ordered Dr. Birch to give him the holy ſacrament, and deſired all his children to join with him. At the ſame time, he profeſſed his firm belief in Chriſtianity with great earneſtneſs, telling them, that, when the duke of Buckingham once talked

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profanely before king Charles, he told him, "My lord, I am a great deal older than your grace, and I believe I have heard more arguments for Atheiſm than ever your grace did; but I have lived long enough to ſee there is nothing in them, and ſo I hope your grace will." He died on the 21ſt of October 1687, and was interred with his anceſtors in the church-yard at Beconsfield, where a handſome monument was erected to his memory. He left ſeveral children, and bequeathed his eſtate (which he had already greatly reduced) to his ſecond ſon Edmund; his eldeſt, Benjamin, being ſo far from inheriting his father's wit, that he even wanted common ſenſe. Edmund was eſteemed a man of good underſtanding, and was ſeveral times choſen a member of the houſe of commons; but, in the latter part of his life, he turned Quaker. His fourth ſon, Dr. Stephen Waller, was a famous civilian, and one of the commiſſioners appointed for the union of the two kingdoms.

Mr. Waller is juſtly conſidered as one of the greateſt refiners of the Engliſh language and verſification.

The beſt edition of Mr. Waller's works is that publiſhed in 1730, quarto, with notes and obſervations by Mr. Elijah Fenton. Mr. Fenton's edition has ſince been re-printed in ſmall 8vo.

*** *Authorities.* Life of Waller prefixed to the edition of his works, Lond. 1712. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. II. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, B. VII.

THE LIFE OF
SIR WILLIAM PETTY.

[A. D. 1623, to 1687.]

THIS ingenious gentleman, whoſe talents were ſo various and extenſive, that it is difficult to ſay to what claſs of men he properly belonged, was the eldeſt ſon

ſon of Anthony Petty, a clothier at Rumſey, in Hampſhire, where he was born in the year 1623. Almoſt from his infancy he diſcovered a genius for the mechanic arts, his chief amuſement being to obſerve artificers at work, to examine their tools, and to attempt imitations of their performances, till, in the end, he was ſo accuſtomed to theſe exerciſes, that, at twelve years of age, he had acquired great ſkill in the manual arts, and could uſe the tools of moſt workmen with great ſkill and dexterity. According to his own account, he made the ſame rapid progreſs in polite literature, having attained a competent knowledge of the Greek, Latin, and French languages; and made himſelf maſter of common arithmetic, practical geometry, dialling, and the aſtronomical part of navigation, by the time he was full fifteen years of age. Thus accompliſhed, he went in ſearch of further improvement to the univerſity of Caen in Normandy. Upon his return to England, he obtained ſome place in the navy-office; and, having ſaved up *threeſcore* pounds, he deemed this ſmall ſum a ſufficient fund to defray the expences of travelling to foreign parts. With this pittance, therefore, our induſtrious adventurer embarked for the Netherlands about the year 1643, taking with him his younger brother Anthony, whoſe education he likewiſe undertook. At this time, he reſolved to ſtudy phyſic, and, with this deſign, he viſited Leyden, Utrecht, Amſterdam, and Paris, reſiding longeſt at the laſt, the univerſity being then in great repute, and there he applied himſelf diligently to the ſtudy of anatomy, reading the works of Veſalius, the famous Flemiſh anatomiſt, in company with our celebrated philoſopher Hobbes, who took great pleaſure in aſſociating with him, and in forwarding his pregnant genius.

It may eaſily be conceived, that ſixty pounds could do little more than ſerve to ſet him forward in his journey, and to defray the ordinary expences of travelling: it has therefore been generally ſurmiſed, that he carried

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on ſome advantageous branch of traffic with his own country during the three years he reſided on the continent, by which he was enabled to ſupport himſelf genteelly, and to return to England in 1646, bringing home with him *ten* pounds more than he carried out; but this is only conjecture, for he does not himſelf account for this extraordinary circumſtance.

In the year 1647, he obtained a patent for an inſtrument he had invented for double writing; it is deſcribed to have been of ſmall bulk and price, eaſily made, and very durable; whereby two reſembling copies of the ſame thing might be wrote at once, as expeditiouſly, and as fair, as they could have been done by different perſons in the ordinary way. It could be learnt in an hour's time, and it was ſuppoſed that it would have been of great advantage to lawyers and ſcriveners; but the additional fatigue to the hand, by the increaſe of weight above that of a pen, rendered the project uſeleſs with reſpect to the chief advantage propoſed by it, that of expedition; ſo that Mr. Petty derived but little benefit from his excluſive privilege of teaching this art for ſeventeen years, except that it ſpread the reputation of his ingenuity, and brought him acquainted with all the learned men of thoſe days. By their advice and intereſt he fixed his abode at Oxford, where he practiſed chemiſtry and phyſic with great ſucceſs, and aſſiſted Dr. Clayton, the anatomy-profeſſor, in his diſſections. The fame of his great abilities ſoon after reached London, the philoſophical meetings of the learned, which preceded the inſtitution of the Royal Society, having been held frequently at his lodgings at Oxford; by which means ſome of the leading men in parliament made it a point to advance his intereſt; ſo that, in 1649, a parliamentary recommedation was ſent to Brazen-noſe-college to elect him to a fellowſhip, made void by ejectment, which was complied with; and, at the ſame time, the univerſity conferred upon him an honorary degree of doctor of phyſic. In 1650,

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he was admitted a candidate of the college of phyſicians at London: and, in the month of December of the ſame year, he was principally concerned, with ſome other phyſicians, in reſtoring to life one Anne Green, who had been hanged at Oxford for the murder of her baſtard child.

It is related of this woman, that ſhe hung near half an hour; during which time her friends, in order to put her out of pain, thumped upon her breaſt, ſuſpended themſelves upon her legs, lifted her up, and then pulled her down again, with ſudden and violent jerks, yet ſhe was not deprived of life; for, after ſhe was in her coffin, ſhe was obſerved to breathe, when a luſty fellow ſtamped with all his force on her breaſt and ſtomach; the doctors then got poſſeſſion of the body, and recovered her, but we are not told by what means, only that ſhe lived many years after, and bore ſeveral children.

In the beginning of the year 1651, Dr. Petty was elected anatomy-profeſſor upon the reſignation of Dr. Clayton; and he likewiſe ſucceeded Dr. Knight in the profeſſorſhip of muſic in Greſham-college. The following year he was appointed phyſician to the army in Ireland: he was likewiſe phyſician to three ſucceſſive lord-lieutenants, Lambert, Fleetwood, and Henry Cromwell; which preferments, together with great practice in the city of Dublin, placed him in a ſtate of affluence. His fertile genius, however, could not be confined to the ſcience of phyſic alone. Being an excellent mathematician, he was completely maſter of the art of ſurveying land; and having obſerved that, after the rebellion in Ireland of 1641, the forfeited lands, which had been allotted to the ſoldiers for ſuppreſſing it, were very defectively meaſured, he made ſuch repreſentations upon the ſubject to Oliver Cromwell, that he granted him a contract in 1654, to make new admeaſurements, which he finiſhed with ſuch accuracy, that the true value of every eſtate, not under 60l. per annum,

num, was exactly aſcertained, and plans were likewiſe drawn by him of the whole. By this contract he gained upwards of ten thouſand pounds. And it appears, by authentic records, that, in 1655, he had ſurveyed 2,800,000 acres of forfeited improveable land, part of which he had divided amongſt the diſbanded ſoldiers. Henry Cromwell being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland in the courſe of that year, he choſe Dr. Petty to be his ſecretary; and, in 1657, he made him clerk of the council; and, by his intereſt, procured him a ſeat in the Engliſh parliament, in which he ſerved for the borough of Weſtlow, in Cornwall. But here he met with a ſevere mortification, being impeached in March 1658, by Sir Hierom Sankey, for high crimes and miſdemeanours in the execution of his office of ſurveying, and diſtributing the Iriſh lands, a buſineſs for which he expected general applauſe. The charge being general, and the doctor abſent in Ireland, it was thought reaſonable that it ſhould be reduced into articles, and, in the mean time, that he ſhould be ſummoned to attend the houſe within the ſpace of a month. This brought him to England before the appointed time; for he took his ſeat in the houſe on the 19th of April, and gave in his anſwer to the articles on the 21ſt; to which his proſecutors replying, the matter was adjourned to a diſtant day, and ſo came not to a final iſſue, the parliament being ſuddenly diſſolved by Richard Cromwell.

The attempt againſt him failing in England, Sir Hierom Sankey countenanced a more vigorous proſecution againſt him in Ireland, upon his return thither, ſoon after the diſſolution of the parliament; and though he publiſhed a juſtification of himſelf under the title of "Brief Proceedings between him and Sir Hierom, with Reflections upon ſome Perſons and Things in Ireland," yet neither this performance, nor a letter written in his favour by Henry Cromwell, to his brother the protector, could prevent his being diſmiſſed from all

all public employment, as ſoon as Richard Cromwell had reſigned, and the remnant of the Long Parliament had re-aſſumed the reins of government. His diſmiſſion happened in June 1659, and he then became a member of the ROTA Club, at Miles's Coffee-houſe, in New-palace-yard, Weſtminſter. The ſcheme of this club was, that all officers of ſtate ſhould be choſen by ballot for a limited time, after which they were to reſign, and others were to be elected in the ſame manner; a certain number of members of parliament were likewiſe to be changed annually, by rotation. But this plan not taking effect, and the doctor's intereſt viſibly declining in England, he returned to Ireland, and employed his time in improving his own eſtates, which were then very conſiderable; there he remained till the reſtoration of Charles II. when he came to England, and was very graciouſly received by his majeſty; and, ſoon after, he reſigned his profeſſorſhip of Greſham-college, the king having appointed him to be one of the commiſſioners of the court of claims, eſtabliſhed in Ireland in 1662, to ſettle the claims relating to forfeited eſtates in that kingdom. His majeſty likewiſe conferred on him the honour of knighthood, granted him a new patent, conſtituting him ſurveyor-general of Ireland; and, in his inſtructions to the court of claims, he ordered that all the forfeited lands which had been aſſigned to him, and of which he had been poſſeſſed in May 1659, juſt before his diſmiſſion from his former employments, ſhould be confirmed to him for ever; ſo that Sir William Petty's eſtate amounted, according to his own account, to ſix thouſand pounds per annum; and from mount Mangorton, in the county of Kerry, he could ſee fifteen thouſand acres of his own land.

Upon the inſtitution of "The Royal Society of London," in 1662, he was elected one of their firſt council; and though he no longer practiſed as a phyſician, his name was inſerted in the liſt of the Fellows, upon the renewal of the charter of "The College of Phyſicians,"

cians," in 1663. Sir William, about this time, gave a freſh proof of his genius for mechanics, and his ſkill in navigation; for he invented a double-bottomed ſhip, to ſail againſt wind and tide, which performed one ſucceſsful voyage very expeditiouſly, from Dublin to Holy head, in July 1664, turning into that narrow harbour againſt wind and tide. The earl of Oſſory, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, embarked in her, upon her return to Dublin, and repeated the experiment within the bar, near Dublin. In a hard gale ſhe put out to ſea with a Dutch veſſel, eſteemed a prime ſailer, which veſſel was thought to be overſet, whilſt Sir William's did not incline above half a foot. She was therefore called the *Pad* of the ſea, and ſhe ſeemed to excel all other forms of ſhips in ſailing, carriage, and ſecurity, beſides other advantages; but, in her return for Dublin, from a ſecond voyage, ſhe was deſtroyed in a violent ſtorm, in which a fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy ſail, likewiſe periſhed. He gave a model of this veſſel to the Royal Society, which is ſtill preſerved in their repoſitory; he likewiſe communicated to that learned body, in 1665, a diſcourſe on ſhip-building, containing ſome curious ſecrets in that art. But this piece was loſt to the public, for it was taken away from the Society by lord Brounker, one of their preſidents, in the year 1682, though the author was then living, under pretence that it was too great an arcanum of ſtate to be commonly peruſed.

Sir William Petty employed great part of his time for many years in attempts to improve upon his plan; and after having made upwards of twenty models at great expence, he at length had a veſſel completed according to his own inſtructions, which was publicly tried in the harbour of Dublin for two days, in December 1684; but ſhe performed ſo abominably, that it ſeemed as if ſhe had been built on purpoſe to diſappoint every expectation that was formed concerning her; and the mortification was the greater to Sir William,

becauſe he had aſſerted, "that he would conſtruct paſſage-boats between Dublin and Cheſter, which ſhould be a kind of ſtage-boats; for they ſhould be as regular in going out and returning on ſet days, in all weathers, as the ſtage-coaches between London and any country town."

Yet the vexation occaſioned by this diſappointment did not deter Sir William from continuing his ſtudies for the improvement of ſhipping during the remainder of his life: and, though he made no more public experiments, he wrote ſeveral ingenious eſſays on the ſubject to the Royal Society, and a treatiſe on Naval Philoſophy, addreſſed to the earl, afterwards the great duke of Marlborough, publiſhed after his death.

The accounts of this enterpriſe may be the more entertaining to the reader, while the adventure of the unfortunate Mr. Day, at Plymouth, is ſtill freſh in his memory. It is probable this modern inventor had peruſed and ſtudied the relation given of Sir William Petty's double-bottomed ſhip; and of the barge invented by Cornelius Drebel, a Dutchman, which was tried upon the Thames in the reign of James I. and was actually rowed under water for a conſiderable time and diſtance, with the greateſt ſecurity to the perſons on board. The only error in theſe extraordinary projects ſeems to be, that of imagining that what is right in theory and will ſtand the teſt of partial experiments, under favourable circumſtances, can always be carried into general practice. Drebel, Petty, and Day, all made one ſucceſsful experiment with every thing advantageouſly diſpoſed; but deprived of all partial aid, the ſecond experiment demonſtrated, with reſpect to the two laſt, that the inventors had not made allowance for common accidents, or at leaſt, that their machines were not better calculated to ſurmount them than any others of the ſame kind. Day's veſſel had a falſe bottom, ſtanding on feet like a butcher's block; the ballaſt was contained in this falſe bottom, and by the perſon in the veſſel unſcrewing

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ſome pins, ſhe was to riſe to the ſurface, leaving the falſe bottom behind. This had been done ſucceſsfully in a Norwich market-boat fitted for his purpoſe, in which he ſunk himſelf 30 feet under water in Yarmouth roads, and after remaining 24 hours, he roſe in the veſſel to the ſurface with great eaſe and ſafety; but at Plymouth, the ſecond experiment proved fatal; for he went down in 22 fathom water, on the 28th of June 1674, and never roſe again, nor could any thing be aſcertained concerning the veſſel.

We muſt now return to the year 1666, in order to proceed regularly with the remaining memoirs of Sir William Petty. This is the date of his "Verbum Sapienti, containing an Account of the Wealth and Expences of England, and the method of raiſing Taxes in the moſt equal Manner: ſhewing likewiſe, that England can bear the Charge of four Millions annually, when the Occaſions of the Government require it." Though this was the firſt tract which took in a general and comprehenſive view of the abilities of the people, and of the nature of the public revenues publiſhed by our author, yet it appears that his famous treatiſe on political arithmetic, of which further mention will be made in the account of his poſthumous works, was preſented by him to Charles II. in manuſcript, upon his reſtoration; and this accounts for the honours and favours conferred upon him by that prince, to whom no perſon could be more acceptable than an author who taught him how to increaſe his revenues. He had likewiſe publiſhed a ſmall piece on a more confined plan in 1662, intituled, "A Treatiſe on Taxes and Contributions: ſhewing the Nature and Meaſures of Crown Lands, Aſſeſſments, Cuſtoms, Poll-moneys, Lotteries, Benevolence, &c." chiefly calculated to anſwer the purpoſes of the court; but his "Verbum Sapienti" was a general diſplay to the public of his abilities as a political calculator, and it was well received from its novelty, there being at that time ſcarcely any thing extant upon the finances,

or upon the property and reſources of the kingdom. In 1667, he married Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Hardreſſe Waller, and relict of Sir Maurice Fenton, baronet; and from this time he engaged in various purſuits, which ſhewed the great activity of his extenſive genius, and how capable he was to promote the commercial intereſt of his country, and at the ſame time to make it ſubſervient to the advancement of his own fortune; for he opened lead mines, and a trade for timber; he likewiſe ſet up iron works, and eſtabliſhed a pilchard fiſhery; all in the county of Kerry in Ireland, by which he greatly benefited that country, and enriched himſelf; and though he chiefly reſided in England, yet he made frequent viſits to that kingdom, and promoted the eſtabliſhment of a Philoſophical Society at Dublin (in imitation of the Royal Society of London), of which he was preſident in 1684, when he drew up a catalogue of mean, vulgar, cheap, and ſimple experiments, proper for the infant ſtate of that ſociety, alſo his *Supplex Philoſophica*, being a deſcription of forty-five inſtruments, requiſite to carry on their inſtitution, which he afterwards ſent to them as a preſent from London.

In 1685, he made his will, which is as remarkable as any other tranſaction of his life; and amongſt other things he takes notice, that from thenceforward, "he ſhould confine his ſtudies to the anatomy of the people, to political arithmetic, and to the improvement of ſhips, land-carriages, and pumps, as of moſt uſe to mankind, not blaming the ſtudy of other men." But death put a period to his uſeful labours in the year 1687, when he was carried off by a gangrene in his foot, occaſioned by the gout. His body was carried from his houſe in Piccadilly to Rumſey, and interred in the chancel of the church, near his parents; and over his grave was cut, on a plain flat ſtone, by an illiterate workman, this ſimple inſcription: *Here layes Sir William Petty.* He was the firſt able financier of this country, who reduced the ſcience of raiſing and applying the public revenues of the

the kingdom to a regular ſyſtem in print. His enterpriſing and diffuſive genius led him to embrace a variety of objects, which made his writings numerous, upon ſubjects belonging to the claſſes of arts and manufactures, particularly on dying and the woollen manufactory, moſt of which are to be found either in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, or in the Hiſtory of the Royal Society, by Dr. Birch. His POLITICAL ARITHMETIC is a maſter-piece in its kind, and has ſerved as a grammar to young ſtudents of political economy from the time of its publication; the increaſe of our national debts and taxes, of our revenue reſources, and of our commerce, rendering it ſtill more valuable as a *Vademecum* to modern financiers, who very often are put into offices in the treaſury, and other revenue departments, before they know ſo much as the meaning of political arithmetic. For their benefit, as well as others, it may be neceſſary to explain it, by inſerting, in this place, the remaining copious title of this valuable performance.---" Or a Diſcourſe concerning the Extent and Value of Lands, People, Buildings, Huſbandry, Manufacture, Commerce, Fiſhery, Artiſans, Seamen, Soldiers, Public Revenues, Intereſts, Taxes, Superlucration, Regiſteries, Banks, Valuation of Men, increaſing of Seamen, of Militias, Harbours, Situation, Shipping, Power at Sea, &c. as the ſame relates to every Country in general, but more particularly to the Territories of his Majeſty of Great Britain, and his Neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France." It was publiſhed at London by his ſon, in 1690, in 8vo. and has been frequently re-printed. Sir William Petty's eldeſt ſon was created baron of Shelburne, in the county of Waterford in Ireland, by William III. but dying without iſſue, he was ſucceeded in that honour by his younger brother, Henry, who was created viſcount Dunkeron in the county of Kerry, and earl of Shelburne, in 1718. From this nobleman is deſcended the preſent illuſtrious William Petty, earl of Shelburne in Ireland, and baron of Wy-

combe, and marquis of Lanſdown in England. A remarkable inſtance this, and a ſtriking example of the eſtabliſhment of a noble family, from the united efforts of ingenuity and induſtry in one man; who, from ſo ſmall a beginning as ſixty pounds, and after being reduced to ſuch penury in France, as to be obliged "to live for a week on two or three pennyworth of walnuts, hewed out a fortune to himſelf;" and left his family, at his death, 6500l. per annum in land, above 45,000l. in perſonal effects, and a plan of demonſtrable improvement on his eſtate, to produce 4000l. per annum more.

*** *Authorities.* Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. II. Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors. Granger's Biog. Hiſt. of England.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.